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VOLUME II

LIFE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS

LIFE OF
CARDINAL GIBBONS

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

BY
ALLEN SINCLAIR WILL
M.A., LITT.D., LL.D.

VOLUME II

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Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. MATTHEW xxii, 21.

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First printing.....November, 1922
Second printing.....November, 1922

97-B4193

Printed in the United States of America

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From the portrait by Marie de Ford Keller, presented by the Cardinal to Miss Mary O. Shriver, Dec. 16th, 1920.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PROVIDENTIAL LEADER

Gibbons' prestige was nearing the pinnacle abroad as well as at home when the silver jubilee of his own episcopacy was celebrated at the Baltimore Cathedral October 18, 1893. The actual anniversary was August 16; but the celebration had been deferred in compliance with the wishes of a number of prelates living at a distance who desired to be present.

In no diocese of the world, perhaps, were the clergy more warmly, in a personal sense, devoted to their ecclesiastical superior than in Baltimore. A committee of priests took the arrangements in charge in June, and issued a circular letter announcing that a testimonial of their devotion would be presented to the Cardinal. In this circular they said:

"By his wise and progressive principles he has raised the Church before the American public to a position of which we may be justly proud. In the administration of the archdiocese he has displayed all the characteristics of the Good Shepherd; and he has ever been united to the clergy and his people by the closest bonds of devotion and love. To his priests he has been, indeed, the amiable and sympathetic elder brother, always ready to receive, to counsel, and to assist them in the great responsibilities of their vocation."

Gibbons himself celebrated Mass on the day of the celebration, and Archbishop Corrigan preached in the presence of Archbishop Satolli and a large gathering of the Hierarchy. At the end of the sermon a letter from the Pope conveying his affectionate congratulations was read. In the same year Leo had enjoyed the extraordinary distinction of celebrating the golden jubilee of his own episcopate, and he expressed his fervent hope that the same privilege might be granted to Gibbons.[1] Accompanying the letter Leo sent as a gift a massive jeweled design bearing a profile miniature of the great bronze statue of St. Peter in Rome, representing him as seated upon a throne blessing the whole world. This gift was brought from Rome by the Rev. Frederick Z. Rooker, Vice-rector of the American College.

The personal note predominated in the afternoon of the same day at a dinner at St. Mary's Seminary, at which the priests of the archdiocese presented an address to Gibbons. The venerable Mgr. McColgan, the Vicar General, took the occasion to recall that a Protestant who had watched the future Cardinal as a young pastor going from house to house, visiting the poor and ministering to the sick, had predicted that he would some day become a great man.

Gibbons replied in terms of affection, attributing the great growth of the Church in the diocese to the work of the clergy, among whom in all the years of his episcopate he had not known a single case of insubordination. Addresses were made by Mgr. Nugent, of Liverpool, who

[1] Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal Gibbons, August 30, 1893; Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

had been sent to convey the congratulations of Cardinal Vaughan, and by Father Ring, who came as a representative of Cardinal Logue.

The celebration drew from Archbishop Ireland, at a vesper service in the Cathedral on that day, one of the most stirring sermons which ever came from the lips of that warrior prelate; he entitled it "The Church and the Age." He hailed Leo as the "Providential Pope" and Gibbons as the "Providential Archbishop." No one knew better than he what the leadership of Gibbons had meant to the Church in America. No one shared more fervently than he the primary aims that had inspired Gibbons to his greatest efforts. He said:

"Be it my coveted privilege to honor a man among men. The record of the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore! I speak of it with pride and exultation; it is the record I should have traced for my ideal Bishop and leader of men in these solemn times through which the Church is passing."

The Archbishop proceeded:

"There is discord between the age and the Church. We recall the fact with sorrow. The interests of society and religion suffer where misunderstanding and separation exist. The fault lies with the age and with the Church, or rather, with statesmen of the age and statesmen of the Church. Age and Church, rightly apprehended, are in no manner at war. . . .

"I indicate the opportunity for the great and singular churchman; his work is to bridge the deep valley separating the age from the Church. . . . What the Church at any time was, certain people hold she ever must be; they do her much harm, making her rigid and unbending,

incapable of adapting herself to new and changing surroundings. The Church, created by Christ for all ages, lives in every age and puts on the dress of every one."

The Archbishop turned to note the characteristics of the age. It was ambitious for knowledge. It was an age of liberty, civil and political, and of democracy. It was an era of social cravings for justice to all men. He found in this the best opportunity for Catholic sympathy and effort. He continued:

"How oft in past years have I thanked God that in this latter quarter of the nineteenth century Cardinal Gibbons has been given to us as a primate, a leader, a Catholic of Catholics, an American of Americans, a Bishop of his age and of his country; he is to America what Leo is to all Christendom. Aye, far beyond America does his influence go. Men are not confined by frontier lines, and Gibbons is European as Manning was American.

"A particular mission is reserved to the American Cardinal. The Church and the age fight their battles with especial intensity in America. America is watched. The prelate who in America is the representative of the union of Church and age is watched. His leadership guides the combatants the world over. The name of Cardinal Gibbons lights up the pages of nearly every European book which treats of modern social and political questions. The ripplings of his influence cross the threshold of the Vatican.

"The work of Cardinal Gibbons forms an epoch in the history of the Church in America. He has made known, as no one before him did, the Church to the people of America. He has demonstrated the fitness of the Church for America, the natural alliance existing between the Church and the freedom-giving democratic institutions

of this country. Through his action the scales have fallen from the eyes of non-Catholics—prejudices have vanished. He, the great churchman, is the great citizen; Church and country unite in him, and the magnetism of the union pervades the whole land, teaching laggard Catholics to love America, teaching well disposed non-Catholics to trust the Church.

"How noble the mission which Heaven has assigned to him; how well it has been followed out! . . . He is large-minded. His vision can not be narrowed to a one-sided consideration of men or things. He is large-hearted. His sympathies are limited by the frontiers of humanity; careless of self, he gives his best activities to the good of others. He is ready for every noble work —patriotic, intellectual, social, philanthropic, as well as religious; and in the prosecution of these he joins hands with the laborer and the capitalist, with the white man and the black man, with the Catholic, the Protestant and the Jew. He is brave. He has the courage to speak and to act in accordance with his convictions. . . . Cardinal Gibbons, the most outspoken of Catholics, the most loyal co-laborer of the Pope of Rome, is the American of Americans!"

Archbishop Redwood, who had traveled half of the earth's circumference from his home in New Zealand, was the celebrant at the vesper service.

The range of Gibbons had been so far outside his ecclesiastical duties in serving his fellow-men that it was felt that the celebration would be incomplete without a recognition of the civic status which he had attained in both the nation and the State. On the day following the services at the Cathedral, a banquet was held in his honor at the Catholic Club of Baltimore, which was attended by Vice-President Stevenson, Senator Gorman, of Mary-

land, Mayor Latrobe, of Baltimore, and other men of prominence in public life. A letter from President Cleveland conveying his felicitations was read, and a number of addresses from organizations in the diocese were presented.

Gibbons, when called upon to address the gathering, said that he was thankful for two things—that he had Christ for his instructor and guide, and that he had the privilege of being born in and raised as a citizen of the United States, a citizen of Maryland, of Baltimore. In no country on earth had a difficult problem been better solved than in America—that of maintaining harmonious relations between Church and State. Here the Church and State ran in parallel lines and neither conflicted with the other. The Church upheld the State; religion educated the State and proclaimed the sanctity of the laws. Religion taught the virtue of obedience and respect for civil laws by teaching that obedience to civil authorities was not servile homage but the homage of freemen to God Himself. The Cardinal proceeded:

"For my part, I would be sorry to see the relations of Church and State any closer than they are at present; for, if the civil authority built our churches or subsidized our clergy, they might want to have something to say as to the doctrines we teach, and we believe that the Gospel should be free. I thank God that we have religious liberty.

"Foreign governments, while recognizing the liberties we enjoy, do not recognize our strength. The first thing that strikes a foreigner on reaching our shores is the absence of soldiers such as he is accustomed to see abroad; but we are strong in the intelligence of the people; we

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL RESIDENCE, BALTIMORE

Cardinal Gibbons lived in this house as Archbishop Spalding's secretary in 1865-68, and as Archbishop 1877-1921.

are strong in the patriotism that in a few hours would transform every citizen into a brave and valiant soldier.

"Another mistake is made in supposing that, because there is no union here between Church and State, we are not a religious people. I maintain that no country in the world has a stronger religious basis than the United States. Our common law is taken from the common law of England, which is thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Christianity. Where is the Christian Sabbath better observed than here? The proceedings of the National and State legislatures are opened with prayer; and still another evidence of our respect and regard for religion is the fact of our setting apart a day in each year for special thanksgiving, the President of the United States and the Governors of States calling upon the people, by proclamation, to return thanks for the blessings they have enjoyed."

Gibbons closed by expressing the fervent hope that religion and patriotism might ever characterize the American people.[2]

For weeks delegations from the diocese continued to present gifts and addresses to Gibbons at his residence. In November a series of public celebrations in honor of the jubilee was held in Washington, where next to his own Baltimore he was better known personally to large numbers of people than in any other city.

The death of Cardinal Manning January 12, 1892, removed one of three men who more than any others had been influential in guiding the external policies of the Church in the direction of liberalism in the last part of the nineteenth century; the others were Leo XIII and Gibbons. Manning's death profoundly affected the

[2] *Catholic Mirror*, October 21, 1893.

Baltimore Cardinal, who had found in him, next to Leo, his principal support in striving for the goals which they all wished to reach. Manning was a warm admirer of Gibbons and the American Cardinal neglected no opportunity to express his high esteem for his English colleague. He believed that, had Manning remained in the Church of England, he would have been elevated to the See of Canterbury; or, had his activities been exercised in secular fields, he might have been a Chancellor of the Exchequer as distinguished as Gladstone, a philanthropist as great as Wilberforce, or a temperance apostle as successful as Father Mathew.

Both of these Cardinals were in thorough sympathy with the wants and legitimate aspirations of men, especially those upon whom conditions of poverty and social injustice weighed. They went outside the arena of theology to grapple with social questions, believing that religion impelled them to open the hearts of men to its benign influences by displaying the Church as the champion of justice to all.

It was fortunate that the influence of Gibbons and Manning was exercised in English speaking countries, which are naturally ready to respond to liberal ideas. Sustained as they were by Leo, reenforced by his brilliant Secretary of State, Rampolla, the fruits of their work, in some important particulars, extended over the whole civilized world.

There were traits which these men seemed to share almost equally. All of them possessed a boldness of mental conception which scarcely fell short of prophecy. They seemed at times to live in years to come more than

in the present, and their thoughts were sometimes incomprehensible to men whose views and outlook were circumscribed by conditions immediately surrounding them.

In the case of Gibbons it was noticeable that not a few of his judgments which appeared to be defective, even to the point of exciting grave warnings on the part of others, were sustained by subsequent developments which those who warned him had not foreseen. Persons who were in intimate touch with him and accustomed to be consulted about his decisions, or to share in their execution, finally came to repose in him a confidence in which they were disposed to silence totally their own judgment. They accepted his leadership as so far above their own standards that they did not question it. In his long life it was possible to get a sweeping perspective of what he sought to do and what he accomplished. He lived to see the fruition of every one of his great aims; and some advisers who had been disposed to urge him to beware, especially when his boldness seemed to discard prudence, were confounded in judgment.

Leo and Manning had complete confidence in Gibbons based on the natural parallel that always seemed to exist between their ideas. All of them were deep students of theology and philosophy, the fruits of which were especially evident in the great encyclicals of Leo, which remained as an invaluable guide for the Church after his time; but their creed was action and service, rather than philosophy or logic. They felt that men must be helped by acts rather than thoughts. It was not as useful in their eyes to reveal some new process of the mind as to initiate some new labor which assuaged the ills of hu-

manity. Religion was for all of them the background of every action, but they preferred to exemplify religion through its fruits, rather than in the stages in which those fruits were produced.

These three were ready to anticipate and interpret the great economic changes in their time. They saw that the progress of industry and invention in the nineteenth century had given a new future to society. Combined with this, either as a forerunner or as an expression of it, was the development of free political institutions. They did not wish the captains of religion to linger in an atmosphere of the eighteenth century, when the atmosphere of the political and the material world upon which their efforts were bestowed had changed so greatly. They were alike in holding firmly the foundations of the faith, but they gave it a new meaning in the eyes of new generations which could not see the vista as their fathers had seen it.

Gibbons was greatly moved by the loss of Manning's services to the Church, to the world and to himself; but the spirit of Manning lived in Leo and the work could go on. Thoughts such as these men planted could not perish. They had begun too much to have it undone by others.

CHAPTER XXXIV

WAR WITH SPAIN—THE FRIAR LANDS

The cause of international peace was especially dear to the heart of Gibbons. He was not content to speak and write for it, or, in fact, for any cause that appealed to him with exceptional force; he wished to translate all of his stronger sentiments into action, for that was the code of his life. Generalities never satisfied him, nor easy conceptions of duty. His conscience could not be put at rest by signing his name to a document and leaving to others the work of giving it effectiveness.

Although he was essentially a combatant all his life, he was a combatant in the fields of truth and reason. Decisions by physical force of controversies between nations appalled him. War he regarded as a last resort for defense, or for preventing a greater evil. In his own country his wish was to see all vital questions decided by the ballot; and among nations he was an earnest worker for arbitration.

When the United States and Great Britain came perilously near an irreconcilable difference of view over the Venezuela boundary dispute in 1895, Gibbons sustained President Cleveland in insisting upon arbitration of the boundary. He wrote a letter to the President commend-

ing his stand and the result of it after a settlement had been effected. The letter was:

"CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
"408 N. Charles St.,
"BALTIMORE.
"November 13, 1896.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"Allow me to congratulate you on the honorable and happy termination of the Venezuelan difficulty. The opportuneness and wisdom of your message are now recognized and applauded, though at the time of its publication it raised a storm.

"The amicable adjustment of this international question is a fitting crown to your second term of administration.

"Faithfully yrs.
"J. CARD. GIBBONS."

"GROVER CLEVELAND,
"President of the United States."

When Great Britain accepted arbitration, Gibbons felt that the conspicuous illustration of the benefits of reason rather than war in adjusting international controversies could not fail of effect upon the world at large. His chief concern was as to whether the effect would be more than merely temporary; and when the movement for a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was started, following the adjustment of the Venezuela difference, he welcomed the opportunity to lend it his heartiest support.

On Easter Sunday, 1896, he joined Cardinals Logue, of Ireland, and Vaughan, of England, the representatives

of the English speaking peoples in the Sacred College, in an appeal in behalf of a permanent tribunal of arbitration. He regretted that the United States government was not then ready to take a pronounced position in favor of a permanent international court; but the appeal could not be lost upon the statesmen of the world, because it had the effect of arraying English speaking Catholics on the side of this great and humane advance. The text [1] of the appeal was:

"*An appeal by the American, Irish and English Cardinals in behalf of a permanent tribunal of arbitration.*

"We, the undersigned Cardinals, representatives of the Catholic Church in our respective countries, invite all who hear our voices to cooperate in the formation of a public opinion which shall demand the establishment of a permanent tribunal of arbitration as a rational substitute among the English-speaking races for a resort to the bloody arbitration of war.

"We are well aware that such a project is beset with practical difficulties. We believe that they will not prove to be insuperable if the desire to overcome them be genuine and general. Such a court existed for centuries when the nations of Christendom were united in one faith. And have we not seen nations appeal to that same court for its judgment in our own day?

"The establishment of a permanent tribunal, composed, maybe, of trusted representatives of each sovereign nation, with power to nominate judges and umpires, according to the nature of the differences that arise, and a common acceptance of general principles defining and limiting the jurisdiction and subject-matter of such a tribunal, would create new guarantees of peace that could not fail to influence the whole of Christendom.

[1] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

"Such an international court of arbitration would form a second line of defence, to be called into requisition only after the ordinary resources of diplomacy had been exhausted. It would, at least, postpone the outbreak of hostilities until reason and common sense had formally pronounced their last word.

"This is a matter of which the constitution and procedure must be settled by governments. But as governments are becoming more and more identified with the aspirations and moulded by the desires of the people, an appeal in the first instance must be addressed to the people.

"We do not hesitate on our part to lift up our united voices and proclaim to all who are accustomed to hearken to our counsels that it is a sign of a Divine influence at work in their midst when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they be exercised any more in war, (Isaiah, ii, 4,) for it was written for a future time: 'Come ye and behold the work of the Lord, what wonders He hath done upon the earth, making wars to cease even to the end of the earth.' (Psalms, xvi, 9.)

"Others may base their appeal upon motives which touch your worldly interests, your prosperity, your world-wide influence and authority in the affairs of men. The Catholic Church recognizes the legitimate force of such motives in the natural order and blesses whatever tends to the real progress and elevation of the race.

"But our main ground of appeal rests upon the known character and will of the Prince of Peace, the Living Founder, the Divine Head of Christendom. It was He who declared that love for the brotherhood is a second commandment to the people. 'Blessed,' said He, 'are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.' (Matt. v, 9.)

"We therefore earnestly invite all to unite with us in pressing their convictions and desires upon their respective

governments by means of petitions and such other measures as are constitutional.

"James Cardinal Gibbons,
"Archbishop of Baltimore.
"Michael Cardinal Logue,
"Archbishop of Armagh,
"Primate of All Ireland.
"Herbert Cardinal Vaughan,
"Archbishop of Westminster."

In a sermon on international peace at the Baltimore Cathedral Gibbons voiced the faith that was in him, saying:

"Christ's mission on earth was to establish a triple peace in the hearts of men—peace with God by the observance of his commandments; peace with our fellow men by the practise of justice and charity; and peace within our own breasts by keeping our passions subject to reason and our reason in harmony with the Divine Law."

He proceeded to say that arbitration in the settlement of international disputes was a system which "while protecting the rights of the weak will not wound or humiliate the national pride of the strong, since it does not attempt to trench on the sovereignty or autonomy of the mightier power." He added:

"Let us cherish the hope that the day is not far off when the reign of the Prince of Peace shall be firmly established on the earth and the spirit of the gospel will so far sway the minds and hearts of rulers and cabinets that international disputes will be decided not by standing armies but by permanent courts of arbitration—when they will be settled not on the battlefield but in the halls of conciliation."

Scarcely two years passed before he was put to the test to defend his principles in another period of stress. No American felt more acutely than he, when the battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor February 15, 1898, that in all probability it would mean a war between his country and Spain. He lost no time in taking a positive stand against such a war, except as a last resort from which there could be no honorable escape.

For the good name of humanity, he hoped and believed that the explosion was caused by an accident, and in that case Spain could not be held responsible for it; neither, he declared, was Spain to blame if a Cuban had caused the fearful loss of life in order to embroil the United States in war with Spain. Even if some fanatical Spaniard had perpetrated the crime, he could see no necessity for war. Active hostilities could only be warranted, he maintained, if evidence could be produced that the Spanish government had connived at the explosion; but he refused to believe, and held that no sane man could believe, that a chivalric Christian nation would be guilty of such inhumanity.

When the United States government appointed a commission to investigate the cause of the disaster, he publicly advised that the people should await the verdict calmly and dispassionately and should not anticipate it. In this the ground which he took was the same as that of the President and the other principal officials who exercised authority in America, for all of them felt that it was a time for the utmost moderation by those directly responsible for the outcome of the crisis.[2]

[2] Lodge, *The War with Spain*, p. 29.

The marked superiority of the military resources of America over those of Spain was to Gibbons an additional reason for moderation. He felt, and frequently expressed the thought both then and on other occasions, that the record of America in the family of nations was, on the whole, a record of magnanimity and justice. The unequal conflict which he foresaw as probable appeared to him to mean merely a waste of life. He felt that all the important results which would flow from it could be accomplished by peaceful means.

Throughout the trying period while the American inquiry on the *Maine* explosion was in progress he upheld the conduct of the authorities as worthy of all praise. A solemn requiem Mass for the officers and sailors who had lost their lives in the explosion was offered by his direction in the Baltimore Cathedral on February 28. Gibbons preached and expressed the opinion that it was out of the question to believe that Spain was responsible for the disaster. He said:

"We do not realize how ardently we love our country until some crisis occurs which awakens our devotion to her and arouses our admiration and gratitude for those who have died in her service. Such a crisis has quite recently occurred; for we have assembled to assist at the holy sacrifice offered up for the souls of the brave officers and men who have lost their lives at the post of duty. Too much praise can not be bestowed on the President, his Cabinet, and particularly on the Secretary of the Navy and his able assistants, as well as on the Houses of Congress, for the calmness and tranquillity, the self-control and the self-possession which they have exhibited during the fearful ordeal through which the country has

been passing in the last few days. It needed only a spark to kindle a great conflagration, and the patient and dignified bearing of the Executive and Legislative bodies is all the more commendable in view of the mischievous and intemperate utterances of some sensational papers.

"This nation is too brave, too strong and too just to engage in an unrighteous or precipitate war. Let us remember that the eyes of the world are upon us, whose judgment we can not despise, and that we will gain more applause and credit for ourselves by calm deliberation than by recourse to arms. 'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.' "

He gave his full support to a movement which was started in Baltimore to contribute to a fund for a memorial to the *Maine's* dead. When a meeting was held at the City Hall to arrange a public demonstration in aid of the fund, he accepted an invitation to act as a member of the committee in charge of it.

On Palm Sunday, April 3, when sermons were delivered throughout the country by ministers of all denominations urging the people to be calm, Gibbons again occupied the pulpit of the Cathedral, joining in the national movement to invoke the principles of religion in the deliberations upon the grave decision that was then soon to be made. He said:

"On this day when we commemorate the entrance of the Lord of Peace into Jerusalem, let us implore Him that He will so guide the minds and hearts of the President and members of Congress; that He will so direct the counsels of Spain; that He may inspire both nations with a happy solution of the problem which confronts us, a solution honorable to both nations, so that the clouds of

war may be dispelled and the blessings of peace may be preserved."

Regarding the Pope as the Vicar on earth of the Prince of Peace, he rejoiced when Cardinal Rampolla, acting in behalf of Leo XIII, formally offered mediation April 2.[3] In America, Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland were especially active in public support of this plan. Spain accepted the offer, replying to Rampolla as follows:

"The moment the United States Government is disposed to accept the aid of the Pope, the Queen of Spain and her Government will gladly accept his mediation; and in order to facilitate the high mission of peace and concord which his Holiness is attempting, promise further to accept the proposal that the Holy Father shall formulate a suspension of hostilities; informing his Holiness that, for the honor of Spain, it is proper that a truce should be accompanied by the retirement of the American squadron from the waters of the Antilles, in order that the North American Republic may also show its purpose not to support, voluntarily or involuntarily, the insurrection in Cuba."

In the United States the war feeling had become so inflamed that mediation proved to be impossible. Gibbons was not surprised when, in the excited temper of the time, the Papal action was assailed in some quarters as an attempt at interference. When the situation was near the point of greatest tension, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs made the unfortunate statement that Papal mediation came at the suggestion of President

[3] Spanish Diplomatic Correspondence and Documents, 1896–1900.

McKinley, and this further ruffled the waves of popular excitement. Mediation, of course, was not to be confounded with intervention, and the Pope never went further than to convey to the two powers, in an informal manner, his earnest hope that war might be averted, placing his help and influence at the service of the two governments impartially.

Gibbons hoped that the Cuban insurgents could be persuaded to agree to an armistice, in order that steps for mediation might be taken. Archbishop Ireland, with the full sympathy of the Cardinal, went to Washington and used his efforts to induce the American government to negotiate with the insurgents for that purpose. Nothing which could be done served to lessen the force of the constantly increasing demand in America for war, for in the minds of the people there was a fixed conviction that they had been the victims of an atrocious national insult. Ireland's attempt to prepare the ground for formal mediation failed, and, the consent of both powers being unobtainable, the Pope was unable to proceed beyond the presentation of his offer.[4]

Representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Russia supported at Madrid, on April 8, the Papal suggestion of an immediate armistice in Cuba. Two days before, the representatives of the same powers in Washington had made a united appeal for peace to President McKinley. Spain was so desirous of averting war that in her reply to these powers, April 9, she went

[4] Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War*, pp. 86–89.

so far as to announce a suspension of hostilities against the insurgents. This concession was too late to be effective.

Gibbons shared the disappointment of Archbishop Ireland, and of many other peace-loving Americans, at the failure of the efforts to avert war. He believed that had the United States agreed to mediation there would have been little doubt that peace could have been secured on the basis of Cuban independence, and subsequent evidence showed that his view was well founded. The situation was complicated by the fact that the passions aroused by the destruction of the *Maine* had stirred a popular feeling in the United States for which there was no offsetting influence in Spain; and although Minister Woodford, then the representative of the United States at Madrid, subsequently declared that President McKinley desired to avert war, and other testimony on this point was overwhelming, the tide was too strong to be stemmed at Washington.[5]

Gibbons was firmly convinced that the majority of the conservative people of the United States did not desire war. He had seen a new generation grow up since the horrors of the great civil conflict, which knew nothing of the miseries that follow in the wake of such convulsions; and he attributed the inflammable state of public opinion chiefly to the young and the adventurous. Although his hope of peace waned, he did not give up his efforts until America had embarked definitely upon the war.

[5] Morris, *The War with Spain*, pp. 124, 125.

From the moment when the final decision was made in Washington he threw in his lot unreservedly with his country. In a public address,[6] June 13, he said:

"We must love our country next to God, and be ready to die for it if necessary. We must loyally and firmly sustain our laws and our governing powers. There was a time, before the war began, when every citizen had the right to express his views upon the policy of the nation; but after Congress has spoken the words that bring us to war, it is our duty now to work with and for our country, and by prayer for and full sympathy with those in authority to help bring the conflict to a speedy and successful conclusion."

As masses of men were hastily called from civil life for service in the army and navy, Gibbons, as a minister of religion, devoted his utmost efforts toward providing good influences for them. In a visit to President McKinley at Washington, he urgently recommended that additional Catholic chaplains be assigned to duty with the forces on land and sea, so that they might be more nearly in proportion to the number of Catholics in the service. He pointed out to the President that although a great number of Catholics were wearing the uniform of their country, only a few chaplains of their own faith were available to protect their spiritual welfare. McKinley, like his recent predecessors, knew Gibbons well and highly esteemed him. He listened sympathetically to the plea for additional chaplains and readily agreed that they should be provided, accepting the recommendations of Gibbons and other prelates as to their qualifications.

[6] At the commencement of Loyola College in Baltimore.

Gibbons hoped that the conflict would be at least short, as the result seemed to him to be never in doubt. He was engaged in diocesan work in Western Maryland when the battle of July 3 resulted in the utter overthrow of the fleet of the Spanish admiral, Cervera, for whose high character and courage he shared the genuine respect which Americans generally felt. He rejoiced at the chivalrous feeling which prompted the abundant courtesies shown to Cervera when the defeated admiral was conveyed as a prisoner to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and took an early opportunity of visiting him there. The admiral freely expressed to Gibbons his satisfaction with his treatment by his American captors. Upon his release, before starting for his home in Spain, he called upon the Cardinal in Baltimore and bade him farewell.

Gibbons' whole aim was cooperation with the American authorities until the conflict was ended. He took prompt action in accordance with the proclamation of President McKinley in July inviting the people of the nation to offer thanks for the American victories. A circular letter[7] to the clergy which he prepared was read in all the churches of the Baltimore archdiocese on Sunday, July 17, in which he said:

"While the President naturally rejoices in the extraordinary achievements of our naval forces, he is far from indulging in a tone of vain complacency and passionate exultation. Filled with a profound sense of his responsibilities as the chief magistrate of a great nation, and in solemn language worthy of the occasion, he depicts the horrors of war with its long train of suffering, disease and

[7] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

death, and he asks us to implore the Lord of Hosts, who holds in His hand the destinies of nations and of men, to restore to our beloved country the blessings of peace. In compliance with the President's proclamation, you will request your congregation to unite with you in thanking Almighty God for the victories He has vouchsafed to us; in beseeching Him to protect our brave soldiers and sailors from the dangers of disease and death which surround them; to lead the conflict in which they are engaged to a speedy and happy issue and bring back to us once more the inestimable blessings of enduring peace at home and abroad. You will also exhort your congregation to pray for those brave men who have sacrificed their lives in their country's cause."

When more than one hundred members of a Maryland regiment were brought back from the front to a hospital in Baltimore, Gibbons hastened to visit them, shaking hands with and speaking a few kindly words to each.

The perilous situation of the priests in the Spanish colonies where the war was in progress moved his sympathy. He wrote in his journal:

"Aug. 18. Received the following cablegram: 'Hong Kong, Aug. 18, 1898. Use influence release one hundred priests arrested by insurgents at Cavite. Piazzoli.' Mgr. Piazzoli is Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong.

"Aug. 21. Sent him the following answer: 'President instructs (General) Merritt to protect lives and property of priests.' On receiving the dispatch I communicated with the President through Archbishop Ireland, who was in Washington. The President informed his Grace that General Merritt, commander at Manila, had instructions

to protect the lives and property of all, and to have no dealings with Aguinaldo, the rebel leader. Had a conference with Archbishop Ireland and the Apostolic Delegate. The latter came with a letter from Cardinal Rampolla, who requested the Delegate to confer with me regarding the Cuban and Philippine situation in the interests of religion. The Delegate sent a full account of transactions to Cardinal Rampolla, stating what we have done and hope to do in the future."

Secretary Alger, of the War Department, exerted his influence to prevent persecution of the clergy in the Philippines in the period following the cessation of active hostilities with Spain. Gibbons wrote him a letter of thanks after one case of his intervention, in which he said that the Secretary's conduct "merits the lasting gratitude of the suffering clergy in the Philippines."

Gibbons' chief rôle, so far as the Spanish-American War period was concerned, began after the few months of fighting had ceased. It was in a sequel of the war that he found his main opportunity to serve both Church and country and the service that he gave was among the most important which he ever contributed to either. During the actual clash at arms he could only devote his labors as a minister of religion to the welfare and spiritual care of the soldiers and sailors, and as a citizen to supporting the national authorities by word, deed and example to the utmost of his power. But with the truce and the preparations for negotiating a treaty of peace the question of whether millions of Catholics in the islands where the rule of Spain had been overthrown were to be transferred to American sovereignty developed as the principal problem of the country. Were the Philippines

to be held indefinitely and, if so, under what status; and what was to be the fate of Porto Rico?

McKinley was doubtful when the future of these islands, then fully occupied by American troops, came to be decided; and he took counsel with the wisest whom he could consult upon a question of so much moment. A summons sent to Baltimore brought Gibbons to the White House for consultation but left him in ignorance of the subject. This, in itself, did not surprise him, for he had been in touch with McKinley rather frequently and knew that there were many pending matters regarding which the President would desire his help.

Arriving at the White House he was soon ushered in to the presence of McKinley, who, as usual, greeted him with marked cordiality. After only a few words had been exchanged the President suddenly revealed the reason of the summons by asking Gibbons directly for his opinion as to whether it would be best for the United States to retain the Philippines.

The Cardinal was startled. He had positive views on the subject but had been especially solicitous to keep them in the background, avoiding participation in the political solution of the problem, avoiding above all else hampering the civil authorities in any way in dealing with weighty questions regarding which they must take the responsibility before the country and the world.

He felt that the Catholic religion was safer under the American flag than anywhere else. The impartial but full protection of that flag was the best shield for the Church's spiritual mission. She was free in America, as the people were free. None dared interfere, none in au-

thority thought of interfering, in the internal affairs of the Church, directly or remotely. Spoliation, to which the Church in Europe was not a stranger, then or since, was undreamed of where the Stars and Stripes stood as the symbol of guardianship for religion and order.

But Gibbons had not wished to see America become a colonial power and, more than that, he had not wished to see her take lands and peoples by force. He wished her to be an exemplar to the world of what other nations had failed to be in this respect. The example of liberty and justice which, in his view, the main outlines of her history presented, was more to her, more to civilization, than any act of aggression or force, no matter how successful. These were the thoughts which sped through his brain when McKinley startled him with the direct question as to his views on the retention of the Philippines.

For all his desire to be aloof from the Philippine question, he felt that he would be wanting in patriotism as well as frankness and fairness to the President if he failed to respond. McKinley had the clear right to ask for advice from any citizen, and it was a citizen's duty to give that advice with an eye single to the truth. Gibbons' answer to the question as to whether the Philippines ought to be retained was:

"Mr. President, it would be a good thing for the Catholic Church but, I fear, a bad one for the United States."

McKinley's ultimate course was determined by exigencies of a political and international nature. If all the views which he received in his consultations on the settlement of the war had been as genuine as those of his

friend, the Prince of the Catholic Church in America, many stumbling blocks would have been removed from his difficult path of duty in the years just preceding his assassination in office.

The Philippines were retained, but the peace which ensued was, so far as they were concerned, only a peace on paper. In the insurrection against the American authorities which burst out, force of arms was, indeed, sufficient to crush one body of native troops after another as they gave organized resistance to the new authority dominant in the islands; but it was not sufficient to suppress or even to lessen the main cause of disaffection which, as was soon evident, threatened to keep alive for an indefinite time a smoldering fire of hostility, which would inevitably increase to a blaze periodically despite the utmost measures which the American authorities were able to take.

This cause was the friar land question—a special problem of the Philippines and essentially a political one in 1898. It was by no means complicated with any desire to throw off allegiance to the Church, which had carried the light of Christianity to the Filipinos centuries before. By means of almost incredible sacrifices on the part of Spanish missionaries, the natives of those islands had become the only Christian people in all Eastern Asia and the territories adjacent. With religion had come the spirit of civilization among the previously barbarous tribes. The Church had been the nursing mother of the Philippine people and they knew it.

In time, by a process which appears to have been inevitable in the special conditions that accompanied the

reclamation of the Philippines from savagery, the members of the religious orders had come to absorb many of the functions of government.[8] In the Island of Luzon and to some extent in other parts of the archipelago the friars were ardent Spaniards as well as ardent priests. They became inspectors of the primary schools and presidents of the boards of health, prisons and charities; were in charge of the collection of taxes; acted as recruiting officers for the Spanish army; attended municipal elections and council meetings, audited municipal accounts and passed upon budgets. While the Spanish officials in the islands were few in number and were continually changed, the friars resided permanently in the country, identifying themselves completely with the people. As was reported by the Taft Commission:

"The truth is that the whole government of Spain in these islands rested on the friars. . . . Once settled in a territory, a priest usually continued there until superannuation. He was, therefore, a constant political factor for a generation. The same was true of the Archbishops and the Bishops. . . . The friars were exempt from trial for offenses, except the most heinous, in the ordinary civil courts of the islands, under the Spanish rule."

Through their permanent residence, the superior development and cultivation of their lands, their habits of personal frugality and the accretion of gifts and bequests from the pious, the friars came to be the legal possessors of the largest proportion of the lucrative agricultural property in the Philippines. In the Aguinaldo revolution native political leaders not only sought to seize their

[8] Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 320 *et seq.*

lands but also drove many of them from the islands as refugees. With the gradual restoration of peace and the establishment of American authority in one district after another, they began to return.

The transfer of the islands to American rule resulted at once in depriving them of their civil functions; but it was incumbent upon the United States to protect them in the ownership of their lands and it became apparent that there could be no permanent peace in the Philippines unless those lands were acquired for wide distribution under the auspices of the new government.

Negotiations with the friars were begun and proceeded for months while new revolts were threatened. There was a wide divergence as to the amount to be paid for the immensely rich tracts of which they were the owners and as to the terms under which the transfer would be made.

President Roosevelt, strongly convinced that the purchase of the friar lands was the one thing needed to bring peace in the Philippines, strove to the utmost of his ability to bring about an accommodation of terms which would make a solution possible. One failure after another confronted him.

When a complete impassé had been reached and Roosevelt was at his wits' end regarding the next step to be taken, Cardinal Gibbons, whom he had known well before he became President and whom he, like McKinley, had been accustomed to consult on problems growing out of the war, visited him one day at the White House. The substance of their conversation, after the exchange of personal compliments, was:

GIBBONS.—I observe, Mr. President, that you are desirous of obtaining an agreement for the settlement of the friar land question in the Philippines.

ROOSEVELT.—Your Eminence, that is the greatest difficulty that I am having. It is the one problem which at present completely baffles me. I know that there must be a settlement in order to bring about permanent peace in the Islands and have tried my best to bring about a settlement. Mr. Taft [9] has also done his utmost, and we are both powerless.

GIBBONS.—On what terms do you wish to make a settlement, Mr. President?

ROOSEVELT.—The main question is, of course, the price to be paid. If we can arrange that I believe that other things can be adjusted.

GIBBONS.—Would you be disposed to tell me of your terms, both as to price and other general conditions?

ROOSEVELT.—Oh, yes. The utmost which it seems possible to obtain the consent of Congress to paying for these lands is about $7,000,000. We wish to resell the lands to other purchasers in comparatively small holdings, so that the friars will no longer be a factor in the economic situation in the Philippines.

GIBBONS.—I will undertake, Mr. President, to obtain a settlement for you on the terms which you state. I have no suggestion of my own on the subject.

Steps to give effectiveness to Gibbons' undertaking were in progress almost immediately. Roosevelt sent Taft to Rome to negotiate for a complete settlement after Taft had conferred with Gibbons in Baltimore. The negotiations in Rome formed a precedent for the American Government, which had not for a long time found it necessary to deal directly with the Papacy. Final accord

[9] Then civil governor of the Philippines.

upon every detail of the problem was arranged upon the terms laid down by Mr. Roosevelt.

With the dispersal of ownership of the friar lands, the way was open for a permanent American policy of preparing the Filipinos for the gradual assumption of the functions of self government. A sudden and mysterious force had intervened in the land question of which the public did not know, for neither Gibbons nor Roosevelt, naturally, could disclose it at the time. It was the force of Gibbons. For the Cardinal's services in this, one of the most perplexing obstacles which Roosevelt encountered while serving as President, he cherished to his death unfailing gratitude and deep affection.

Gibbons devoted himself with energy to the readjustment of the general conditions under which the Church existed in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico. This was his especial mission when he paid a visit to Rome in the spring of 1901. Before his departure he summoned to Baltimore Archbishops Ireland, Williams and Kain, whom he consulted as to his program.

He arrived in Rome May 22, having been preceded only a few days by his warm friend, Archbishop Chapelle, an American prelate who had been appointed Papal Delegate to the Philippines, and Mgr. Nozaleda, Archbishop of Manila. Taking up his residence at the Procura of St. Sulpice, he was soon engrossed in a series of consultations with Leo XIII and other high authorities of the Church. Gibbons was rejoiced to find Leo, at ninety-two, fully equal to facing every detail of the problems which had to be settled and receptive to his own views. The Pope's memory for details continued to be marvelous.

Gibbons had informed him fully by letter of general conditions in the United States and in the recently transferred Spanish islands and of the difficulties which had to be met.

The Pope was not only keenly alert as to ecclesiastical conditions with which it was necessary to deal, but as to the political and economic aspects of the new situation. He told Gibbons, as he always did when the American Cardinal visited him in Rome, of the especial love for the American people of which he had given abundant evidence, and showed a marked disposition to cooperate with them in the readjustment in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico. He relied, he said, upon the sense of justice of the President and his advisers in working out the situation. Leo agreed with Gibbons that one of the greatest needs was the sending of American priests to the islands who would understand the American system as applied to Church and State better than the Spanish priests and friars.

Arrangements were rapidly completed for the purchase of the property rights of the Church in Cuba and Porto Rico as a means of abolishing the public support of the clergy. With these adaptations to new conditions Leo expressed himself as thoroughly satisfied. The American Government, he said, gave proof of good will and expressed in acts a spirit of justice and of respect for the liberty and rights of the Church. He voiced the firm conviction that there would be due respect for rights of property and of conscience under the government. The mass of reports which he received from Bishops and others confirmed him in this view and he was glad to

express his gratitude to the President for the fairness and forbearance that had been shown.

While in Rome Gibbons gave a dinner at which seven nationalities were represented in the group of fourteen persons, including two other Cardinals, three Archbishops, three Bishops, four priests and two laymen. He commented upon this as exemplifying in a striking manner the unity of the Catholic faith, which had remained with him as an especially profound impression ever since his memorable experience in the Vatican Council.

Leo received him in farewell audience June 18. Gibbons' mission had been concluded under the happiest auspices. The general lines of all pending readjustments of ecclesiastical conditions in the Spanish islands had been fixed and the democratic Pope and the democratic Cardinal were alike happy over the outcome. Leo expressed the belief that it was the last time he would see Gibbons, upon whose counsel and vigorous help he had leaned so often. Gibbons, with whom the wish was perhaps father to the thought, was led to believe that the great commander under whom he had fought so many battles would live to round out a century.

Gibbons had conducted his delicate mission in Rome under serious obstacles of ill health. The heat of the summer in the Eternal City oppressed him, especially as his general physical condition then showed, as it did not infrequently, signs of impairment. As usual, after a period of severe exertions in Rome, he sought recuperation in a leisurely trip homeward, spending a few days in Florence and then proceeding on his journey by way of France, Belgium, Holland, England and Ireland. When

he arrived in Paris Paul Bourget was moved to write of him in *Le Figaro:*

"Cardinal Gibbons is of the race of those ascetics in whom it seems that mortifications may have left only as much flesh as suffices for the labors of the soul."

He was dismayed by the impression which intimate touch in Paris gave him of church legislation by the French Chambers, the character of which was beginning to cause grave concern. Mentally he contrasted it with the certainty with which the Church had been able to weather every difficulty that had confronted her in America and with the outlook for a continuation of the cordiality and mutual sympathy which prevailed between the leaders of Church and State in his own country.

After a visit to Cardinal Vaughan in London, where English Catholics were eager to meet and greet the coworker of Manning, he proceeded to Ireland. As the guest of the Bishop of Cloyne, addresses from Catholic societies were presented to him, commenting in glowing terms upon the advance of the Catholic faith in America during recent years. Responding to these, Gibbons expressed his pleasure in testifying to the great share which Irish immigrants had borne in building up America's prosperity and the devoted sacrifices of the hundreds of Irish priests who labored among the American people. Amelioratory land legislation by the British Government had then attained some progress in Ireland and he expressed the hope that the time had come for the Irish to remain at home, where, by the exercise of as much

industry and initiative as they would show in America, they might attain prosperity which would satisfy their desires.

Sailing from Queenstown August 18, he received an enthusiastic welcome upon his arrival in New York. He summed up his observations abroad by remarking that he found that Americans were now regarded in a different light by Europeans. He said:

"As 'nothing succeeds like success,' the vigor with which we carried on the Spanish-American War and the ease with which we gained possession of the Philippines and Porto Rico have caused Europeans to regard the United States as a world power. Certainly we are more feared than formerly, and there is not a movement made in Europe now without consideration of what effect it will have on the United States. I will not say that our successes will contribute to our happiness as a nation, but certainly they have increased our power and prestige abroad. But a few years ago, the United States was hardly taken into account at all; now, we are regarded as rivals with the powers of Europe, and are feared by them, politically and commercially."

He returned to Baltimore August 25 and again received high public honors among the mass of his neighbors, who esteemed him, perhaps, more for the simple and homely virtues which he exhibited in his daily intercourse with them than for his eminence as a world figure, the reflected light of which conferred fame upon their city and his. An overflowing crowd acclaimed him at the railroad station, where he was formally received by the acting Mayor, Henry Williams, and by Charles J. Bonaparte on behalf of the Catholic laity. To their welcom-

ing speeches he responded briefly, saying simply from the bottom of his heart that there was no country so dear to him as America and no place so dear to him as Baltimore.

He was escorted to the Cathedral by a long parade of uniformed members of Catholic societies and others. In that noble edifice he spoke again of his pleasure in returning, and bestowed the Apostolic benediction. Standing upon the front steps of his residence, an unfading picture to thousands who gazed at him, he reviewed the parade. It was characteristic of his intense piety as well as an example to his priests that on the same evening, putting aside the exactions of business which had accumulated in his absence, he went into retreat with the clergy of his diocese for five days at St. Mary's Seminary.

Gibbons was watchful that the spiritual mission of the priests in the Spanish islands acquired by America should not be interfered with in any manner, any more than the spiritual mission of priests in the United States. Roosevelt and Gibbons, and later Taft and Gibbons, cooperated in the protection of the rights of the clergy and members of religious orders in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico. The Cardinal's journal contains these entries:

"April 19 [1904]. Received a cablegram from Bishop Hendrick (of) Cebu, Philippines, requesting me to ask President Roosevelt to protect the Church there quickly.

"20th. The President has replied to my letter of inquiry, saying that he has no knowledge of the cause of

the complaint, but will make immediate inquiries and report to me."

Another instance of Roosevelt's cooperation is reflected in a letter which the Cardinal wrote to Archbishop Aguis, Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines. The letter read:

"Baltimore, March 5, 1906.

"Your Excellency:

"I take pleasure in sending you herewith a copy of the letter which President Roosevelt has written me in reply to your Excellency's document, which I forwarded to him immediately on its receipt.

"Your Excellency will not fail to note the favorable disposition of the President toward the matter of your representation. I am much pleased with the reply, and trust your Excellency will be pleased also.

"With sentiments of great regard,

"Yours very sincerely in Christ,

"J. Card. Gibbons."

At a later period he felt compelled to interpose in regard to a situation in Cuba of which the following entries in his journal give an account:

"April 22 [1909]. The Apostolic Delegate of Cuba informed the Holy See of a threatened persecution of the Church in that Island by prohibiting external manifestations of religion and by forbidding foreign clergymen and nuns from officiating. Through the Apostolic Delegate at Washington I was requested by the Holy Father to approach the civil authorities in Washington with the view of soliciting their good offices in behalf of the Church. I immediately conferred with Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, and with President Taft. I found Mr. Knox very sympathetic and Mr. Taft was eager to avert

the hostility of the Cuban authorities without officially showing his hand. He informed me that he was sending a fleet to the Argentine Republic to participate in its centenary, bearing Gen. Leonard Wood, whom the President would instruct to stop at Havana with the fleet and have a conversation with President Gomez on the subject of the adverse laws; General Wood, on reaching Havana, called on the President and expostulated with him on the reported impending legislation. Gomez gave the General his assurance that he would exercise his influence against the proposed laws and expressed his conviction that they would not be passed. Mr. Taft kindly wrote to me, inclosing General Wood's letter.

"29. Señor Eliseo Giberga, a representative from the President of Cuba to the dedication festivities of the Temple of Peace at Washington, and General Carlos Garcia Velez, Cuban Minister to Washington, called on me by request of President Taft to inform me that in the judgment of President Gomez, the threatened legislation would never be declared; that, though it should pass the lower House, it would probably be defeated in the upper House, and even if it should pass the upper House, it would certainly be vetoed by the President.

"June 20. Received from Cardinal Merry del Val a grateful acknowledgment on the part of the Holy Father for my services in the Cuban affair."

The uniform cooperation from the American authorities which he received in steps taken for the protection of priests wherever the flag floated furnished him with new arguments to present to Rome whenever the question of the Church's safety in America was discussed by European ecclesiastics who lacked direct knowledge of the practical operations of the system here which Gibbons so warmly defended.

CHAPTER XXXV

INFLUENCE ON THE ELECTION OF PIUS X

When the Catholic world—indeed, men everywhere who honored preeminent goodness and greatness combined in one person—prepared in 1903 to give expression to the rejoicing that Leo XIII had been spared to reign twenty-five years, it is safe to say that no one, however exalted or however humble his station in the Church, contemplated the coming event with feelings that more deeply stirred the soul than Gibbons. It seemed that these two men, whom Archbishop Ireland had linked in a phrase as the "providential Pope" and the "providential Archbishop," had been raised up together to share in many things in which neither could have attained his full purposes without the other. Leo leaned upon the judgment of Gibbons. Gibbons regarded the support of Leo as the most powerful influence on earth in giving effect to his own aspirations for Church and country. But the bond between them was more than a bond of concurrent judgment, more than a bond of concurrent striving; it was one of full mutual confidence, of full mutual reliance, of an intensity of personal affection attainable only by souls that ranged far above the commonplace. The brilliant success of one was the joy of the other.

These two captains of the Church seemed to have been cast in the same mold, even (at least to some extent)

physically; and there was a strange parallel in their careers. Both appeared frail and were obstructed in some of their greatest undertakings by lapses of health, but both survived to ages given to few men—Leo to ninety-three and Gibbons to eighty-six. The resemblance between them in face and form was unmistakable. The type was precisely the same—the slenderness, grace, alertness combined with benignity, the general cast of delicately molded features, the appearance at times almost of a saintliness beyond this earth, to which the fragility of their frames lent an added touch of similitude.

Both were natural leaders, born to high command, exercising control in the largest fields with greater ease and poise perhaps even than in smaller ones, attracting to themselves the devoted zeal of a multitude of followers; men who led but did not drive, vibrant with personal force that communicated itself instantly to those with whom they came in contact, small or large in number.

Their mental conceptions seemed to proceed from the same outlook. Leo swept the world with a scrutiny reaching beyond the visible present into the invisible future. The same gift belonged to Gibbons. While their programs were so far in advance of what men of narrow vision could conceive that they sometimes appeared impractical for a limited time, their long lives brought full vindication of their judgment in every important aspect.

To Leo and Gibbons it was a changing world; a process of rapid evolution was astir. They lived in times that forecast other times. The Church must not wait for the pressure of events to direct her, but must antici-

pate those events and be a forerunner of the world's progress.

This applied mainly to the spiritual, but in the minds of these two the spiritual and the material welfare of men were closely linked. While they preached, they wished also to feed the hungry multitude with the loaves and fishes. Men were breaking some of their political bonds, and they would soon break more. As Leo and Gibbons saw, the Church had been the friend of liberty, was a friend of liberty in their time and was preparing the way for a larger liberty in the future. It was a Christian liberty which eased men's shoulders from the burden and delivered their hands from making the pots, but it was also a liberty which must be prevented from losing its steady, saving force through violent extremes.

While, in the minds of both, the kingdom of the Church must be established in the hearts and consciences of men, Leo relaxed no claim of the temporal power, being convinced as firmly as any one who ever sat in the chair of Peter that the independence of the Papacy was necessary for the unity of the faith. As nuncio at Brussels, he had learned that relations with governments were necessary to the Church in some countries and at some times; but he repudiated as abhorrent in one of his encyclicals the theory that the Church sought, or should seek, to be the master of the State.

Both Leo and Gibbons had formulated all of their greater ideas before either of them knew the other's mind. When the fortune of ecclesiastical preferment threw them in close contact, each rejoiced to find in the other a reflection of himself. Gibbons had no wish to take any

active steps for the extension in practise beyond America of his own views as to civil relations. He felt that he was an American churchman with a mission to America, and that satisfied him abundantly; but in the march of events he became a world figure.

The Church, the Bishop, the priest, the layman in America he wished to be American in sympathy; to him the bond of confidence and intimate similarity between them and their country showed the way to the progress of religion. While no particular type of nationality was necessary in a priest to enable him to perform the functions of universal love and service which are embraced within the Christian faith, the door of approach to the people would be opened wider if priests and parishioners were one in all the essential human traits and habits of thought. In America, no less than England, the number of priests of foreign birth in Gibbons' early years, and the century which had preceded those years, had been large from a cause of which he was well aware—the lack of facilities for training them in their own country. So far as America was concerned this had been due to the sparseness of the Catholic population in the English element which made up the overwhelming majority of the colonists who established their independence in 1776, as well as to the restrictive laws which grievously burdened Catholics in a number of those colonies while under British rule.

Both opportunity and material means were lacking for the establishment of seminaries in which to train priests during the first half century of independence, but now a marvel had been wrought. The comparatively small

band of Catholics who had unanimously rallied to the cause of Washington had expanded into a multitude of millions, whose aggregate wealth was amply sufficient to provide for all the necessary operations of the Church in the United States. Now American democracy could be exemplified by American Catholic priests to the American people as never before. Gibbons wished the proportion of these exemplars to be swelled to the utmost extent possible, and the evidence of the results of his efforts in that direction became overwhelming.

America was free, and it was not simply a political freedom as Gibbons saw it. It was a freedom for every reasonable aspiration in men. There must be economic freedom—hence he fought for the rights of labor. There must be social freedom—hence he strove for changes that would loosen unreasonable social restrictions imposed upon the mass. To preserve this freedom, to multiply its heritage, there must be incessant vigilance against inroads by extremists. The Church, it appeared to him, must teach and preach by example even more than by precept.

Here, he felt, the road to the hearts of men was far more widely open than in the countries of Europe. He wished to take that road and rejoiced that the way was clear and free.

The parallel between Leo and Gibbons had been preserved even in their elevation to the highest offices which they filled. Leo had been raised to the Papacy in February, 1878, and in the same month the pallium had been placed upon the shoulders of Gibbons as Archbishop of Baltimore. On the threshold of his major career, Gibbons had shared the general expectation that the new

Pope with whom he was to labor concurrently would not survive for many years; for the principal argument used against the selection of Cardinal Pecci in the conclave had been his age, then sixty-eight years. The reign of Pius IX, thirty-two years in duration, had accustomed churchmen to look for the benefits that accrued from prolonged tenure in the supreme Pontificate, with the uniformity of aims and methods that it brings and its orderly evolution of policies which require much time for fruition. Though the reign of the predecessor of Leo was the longest in the history of the Papacy, he did not fall far short of equaling it.

Leo had celebrated the golden jubilee of his episcopate in 1893, when Gibbons had shared to the full in the felicitations which were conveyed to him by prelates throughout the world. The American Cardinal's friend, President Cleveland, who had recently been inaugurated for a second term, joined with the executives of other nations in expressing grateful recognition of Leo's services to humanity. Through Gibbons, he sent to the Pontiff as a present one of an edition of twenty copies containing the official papers and documents written by him during his first term in the presidency. His congratulations were conveyed in the following letter [1] to Gibbons:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, June 9, 1893.

"*To His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons,*
"YOUR EMINENCE:

"Please permit me to transmit through you to his Holiness, Leo XIII, my sincere congratulations on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his Episcopate.

[1] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

"The pleasure attending this expression of my felicitations is much enhanced by the remembrance that his Holiness has always manifested a lively interest in the prosperity of the United States and great admiration for our political institutions. I am glad to believe that these sentiments are the natural outgrowth of the Holy Father's solicitude for the welfare and happiness of the masses of humanity, and his special sympathy for every effort made to dignify simple manhood and to promote the social and moral betterment of those who toil.

"The kindness with which his Holiness lately accepted a copy of the Constitution of the United States leads me to suggest that—if it does not seem presumption—it would please me exceedingly to place in his hands a book containing the official papers and documents written by me during my previous term of office.

"Yours very sincerely,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Gibbons expressed his cordial appreciation of the President's thoughtfulness, and in due time the volume was prepared and forwarded to him. He acknowledged it in this letter:

"CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
"408 N. Charles St.,
"BALTIMORE, MD.
"September 20, 1893.

"MY DEAR MR. CLEVELAND:

"On returning home today from Chicago, I found the valuable volume containing your State papers awaiting my return. I shall forward the volume as soon as possible to Rome, and I assure you that there are few gifts which the Holy Father will receive with more satisfaction than yours. . . .

"I avail myself of this occasion by joyfully tendering

to Mrs. Cleveland and yourself my hearty congratulations on the choice blessing which God has bestowed upon you both in the person of a new daughter, the first child, I am told, ever born to a President during his incumbency of the presidential office. May this young queen be a source of unalloyed joy and consolation to her parents.

"Faithfully yrs. in Christ,
"J. CARD. GIBBONS."

With the approach of Leo's silver jubilee as Pope, Gibbons wrote to him a fervent letter in the name of the American Bishops upon the anniversary. He expressed joy that Leo in his long reign had given signal proofs of his interest in the Church in America. Among these proofs he enumerated the convoking of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which had framed for the Church here a stable and comprehensive constitution that had served to prepare her for her marvelous advance; the Papal support of and interest in the Catholic University at Washington, which had made possible the development of that great project far even beyond the hopes of those who had cherished it in its beginnings; and Leo's special letter of congratulation on the centennial of the American Hierarchy, in which he had crowned with the Pontifical commendation the program for the expansion of the Church here which the Bishops were then beginning to carry out. To Leo he gave his fullest loyalty as the apex and center of Catholic teaching and of the priesthood, the representative of that unity which Christ destined for His Church.[2]

[2] Letter of Cardinal Gibbons to Leo XIII, March 3, 1902.

In the following month the Pope responded with an encyclical addressed to Gibbons and the American Bishops, in which he recorded his deepest gratitude for their continuous support during his Pontificate, as well as for the development of religion in the United States. He wrote:

"Certainly we have reason to rejoice, and the Catholic world, on account of its reverence for the Apostolic See, has reason to rejoice at the extraordinary fact that we are to be reckoned as the third in the long line of Roman Pontiffs to whom it has been happily given to enter upon the twenty-fifth year of the supreme priesthood. But in this circle of congratulations, while the voices of all are welcome to us, that of the Bishops and faithful of the United States of North America brings us special joy, both on account of the conditions which give your country prominence over many others, and of the special love we entertain for you.

"You have been pleased, beloved son and venerable brothers, in your joint letter to us, to mention in detail what, prompted by love for you, we have done for your churches during the course of our pontificate. We, on the other hand, are glad to call to mind the many different ways in which you have ministered to our consolation throughout this period. If we found pleasure in the state of things which prevailed among you when we first entered upon the charge of the supreme apostolate, now that we have advanced beyond twenty-four years in the same charge, we are constrained to confess that our first pleasure has never been diminished, but, on the contrary, has increased from day to day by reason of the increase of Catholicity among you.

"The cause of this increase, although first of all to be attributed to the providence of God, must also be ascribed

both to your energy and activity. You have, in your prudent policy, promoted every kind of Catholic organization with such wisdom as to provide for all necessities and all contingencies in harmony with the remarkable character of the people of your country.

"We have gladly availed ourselves of every opportunity to testify to the constancy of our solicitude for you and for the interests of religion among you. And our daily experience obliges us to confess that we have found your people, through your influence, endowed with perfect docility of mind and alacrity of disposition. Therefore, while the changes and tendencies of nearly all the nations which were Catholic for many centuries give cause for sorrow, the state of your churches in their flourishing youthfulness cheers our heart and fills it with delight. True, you are shown no special favor by the law of the land, but, on the other hand, your law-givers are certainly entitled to praise for the fact that they do nothing to restrain you in your just liberty." [3]

Leo proceeded to express his satisfaction with the methods which the Church had adopted for carrying her appeal among Protestants. He highly commended the missions in behalf of the Indians, in which Gibbons had been particularly active, and those of the priests and teachers who had been sent to assist the negro population in its struggle upward. Gibbons ordered a triduum April 3 in honor of the jubilee.

The mind of Leo, which had glowed so long like a brilliant torch, could not burn forever, and the worn body, almost transparent in its frailty, must yield in time to the weakness of the flesh. Soon after the jubilee his last illness, pneumonia, fell upon him. Often before the

[3] Encyclical, April 15, 1902.

whisper that the Pope had been taken ill had passed around the Vatican; but this time it was not long before his physicians and household saw that hopes of his recovery were vain. Their efforts were directed toward prolonging his life by the devices of medical science.

When it appeared that death was inevitable, Gibbons was promptly advised from Rome. No American up to that time had taken part in the election of a Pope. Cardinal McCloskey had been a member of the Sacred College at the death of Pius IX, and had sailed for Rome to vote in the conclave; but he had proceeded only as far as Paris when he was notified that the new Pontiff had already been elected. Travel to Europe had become more rapid now, and Gibbons resolved that physical obstacles should not prevent his participation with his brother Cardinals in the great function that was before them.

If Gibbons had waited until the Pope's death to start, it would have been impossible, perhaps, for him to reach Rome in time, as the conclave was to begin on the tenth day after death. For several days before the final message from Rome caused him to decide to set out, accommodations were secured for him provisionally on every steamship that sailed from New York. He was kept informed of the movements of ships and other details regarding the prospects of his trip until midnight on those days.

It was eleven o'clock Wednesday morning, July 8, 1893, when Gibbons received in a cable dispatch from Cardinal Rampolla the information that the Pope's death was certain. Not a moment was lost. The Rev.

P. C. Gavan, chancellor of the archdiocese of Baltimore, whom he had selected to accompany him as conclavist, was sitting at his desk in the archiepiscopal residence when Gibbons entered the room and said simply: "Come along, sir."

Down went the desk with a bang, for the priest knew the Cardinal's mood and was ready to fall in with it. The letter which he had been writing was left unfinished. When he returned from Rome, it was still there; but he had met abroad the one for whom it was intended. Gibbons and Gavan hurried to the office of a steamship agent with whom they had been in communication, obtained their tickets, and returned home for hasty and final packing. After a hurried dinner they boarded the train at one o'clock for New York. They found their apartments ready on the vessel which was to bear them across the Atlantic, despite the fact that the tide of European travel was then at its height for the season, and accommodations on fast ocean ships could usually be obtained only by waiting for months.

More than a week passed, but still Leo lived. The world had become so accustomed to the marvel of his vitality that it was not surprised. At last all human resources failed, and on July 20 he expired.

Gibbons was then in Paris. His presence in Rome was not immediately necessary, and he proceeded to Lucerne, where he spent several days. In that city United States Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, showed him especial honor. He also met Senator Depew of New York and him who was to be Depew's successor, the then Justice O'Gorman.

On Sunday morning, July 26, he arrived in Rome, and took up his quarters at the Procura of St. Sulpice, where there were also four French Cardinals—Richard of Paris, Perraud of Autun, Lecot of Bordeaux and Coullie of Lyons. Sixty-one other Cardinals had arrived in the city—the entire membership of the Sacred College at that time, except Moran of Australia, and the Cardinal of Palermo, who was kept at home by illness.

Rome was not lacking in special interest in the unprecedented circumstance of the arrival of an American Cardinal to take part in the election of a Pope. One newspaper printed an account of his career, the first part of which was a word picture of America, represented as young, strong, ardent, impatient of restraint, bold and successful. The article proceeded to declare that Gibbons possessed these qualifications in an eminent degree. As the writer, with a leap of the imagination, forecast the conclave, Gibbons would rush matters from the beginning, would brook no delays, and would bring the proceedings to a speedy end even if the hallowed traditions of centuries were dragged in the dust.

The next morning the secretary of one of the Cardinals, whose See was on the shore of the Adriatic, said to Father Gavan:

"Who is your Cardinal?"

"Cardinal Gibbons—the American Cardinal," replied the priest.

"What, the terrible American!" was the startled reply. "Show him to me when he comes out."

When Gibbons appeared the young secretary looked disappointed and exclaimed:

"Why, he is just as cultivated, refined and intellectual as one of our own Italian cardinals."

The conclave did not assemble until the Friday evening following Gibbons' arrival. In the meanwhile there were services in the Sistine Chapel every morning, after which the Cardinals gathered in the halls of the Vatican and attended to the business of the Church, as is their custom when the Papacy is vacant. For the time being they were all sovereigns, sharing equally in deciding the questions which came before them. The camerlengo, Cardinal Oreglia, the only member of the conclave who had been elevated before the reign of Leo, presided. Business to be transacted was presented by Monsignor Merry del Val, secretary of the conclave, who was not then a Cardinal, but was soon to succeed to that dignity and to the Papal secretaryship of state.

About six o'clock Friday evening the electors entered the conclave and drew lots for the apartments in the Vatican which they were to occupy. Gibbons received as his quarters two rooms which had been used as offices, near the entrance to a staircase leading to the apartments lately occupied by Leo. One room was for the Cardinal himself, the other for his conclavist. They were small and scantily furnished, the room of Gibbons containing an old iron bedstead, one armchair, two smaller chairs with rush bottoms, a table and an iron washstand. Their meals were served by a domestic servant who occupied quarters in another part of the building.

Leo's own hand had framed the regulations under which his successor was elected. He had been camerlengo at the death of Pius IX, and had been impressed

to set down, for the benefit of posterity, the fruit of his experience in the conclave that ensued. There are elaborate regulations for the choice of a Pope, for the Church devotes supreme effort to establishing safeguards for preventing human interposition against the will of Divine Providence in such gatherings. From historical experience she has designated precise forms to protect the secrecy and fairness of the election. Leo revised the previously existing regulations to some extent, writing the rules carefully in a book, which he ordered to be preserved for the exigency that would follow his own death.

The main precautions which the wisdom of centuries has shown to be desirable were retained without essential change. While in the conclave the Cardinals are virtually prisoners. They are, in some respects, like a civil jury, locked up to deliberate upon a case of momentous gravity, though far more care is taken to bring about the best decision on their part, and the dignity and solemnity which surround them and their function are infinitely greater.

The requirement of rigorous seclusion was emphasized by a decree of Gregory X in the year 1274 A. D. after he had been elected by a conclave which drew out its sessions more than three years. This was the conclave of Viterbo, which assembled upon the death of Clement IV. After an interregnum of two years and nine months had elapsed, the seventeen Cardinals who were voting were shut up in the Papal palace with no food but bread and no drink but water. As the decision did not seem to be hastened, Charles of Anjou went further and took off part of the palace roof, in order that the unchecked elements of nature might operate in forcing the electors to

complete their task; but even after that ordeal of physical hardship was imposed upon them, six months passed before they united in choosing Gregory. Time has somewhat modified the severe discipline in regard to conclaves imposed by him and succeeding Pontiffs in the Middle Ages; but there has not been the slightest departure from the principles of seclusion and secrecy.

Every step of the solemn process impressed the keenly imaginative mind of Gibbons, as his experience in the majesty of the Vatican Council, the first ecumenical gathering of the Church in three hundred years, had impressed him a third of a century before. It is impossible for a man of sensitive perceptions to pass through such scenes without being almost overwhelmed by the weight of the message which they bear from the early days of Christianity, when strong and devoted fathers of the Church kept alive the fire of faith amid the utmost distractions that afflicted men and nations. Through all of the trials no fraction of doctrine was surrendered; no rule of discipline was permanently modified against the impartial judgment of the Church.

In the presence of evidence, that swept the senses, of the rising and falling of kingdoms and of men while the faith alone endured, the American Cardinal was thrilled, but he did not lose his poise. At the Vatican council, as the youngest of twelve hundred Bishops, he had felt obliged to preserve a "discreet silence," as he wrote, though he formed definite opinions upon every subject that came up, and acted in accordance with them. Now he was a Cardinal of nineteen years' service. Was he to be a leader or a follower? Men like himself must bear

the responsibility of the all-important decision about to be made. Must he relapse into diffidence because he was the first American to sit in a Papal conclave? Would the novelty of his rôle, all the more striking to him as he lived and moved for the time being amid the traditions of centuries, subdue his voice? His mental answer was "no!" Though the mass of these traditions had been born while America was still a wilderness, he spoke now for 15,000,000 Catholics, and as their representative he would not fail to do his part.

As always under trying circumstances, a buoyant cheerfulness sustained him. When Cardinal Oreglia, as the time for secluding the electors arrived, passed along the corridors where they were lodged, preceded by a master of ceremonies, crying "*Extra omnes!*" Gibbons remarked: "Just think of my being locked up and my liberty curtailed at my time of life!"

A ballot was taken every morning while the conclave was in progress. The master of ceremonies passed the apartments of the electors, summoning them with the formula "*In capellam, Domini.*" They proceeded to the Sistine Chapel, where they took the seats allotted to them, over each of which was a canopy indicating the sovereign dignity which they possessed for the time being. The subdean celebrated low Mass, and the voting began.

Three Cardinals (*scrutatores*) were chosen by lot each time to preside over the voting; three (*revisores*) to verify the count, and three (*infirmarii*) to collect the ballots of the sick. Each elector received a *schedula*, or voting paper. The ballots were folded thrice. On the top of the form were printed the words, "*Ego cardinalis*," and

there the elector wrote his name. On the middle were the words, "*Eligo in summum Pontificem Rm. Dm. meum D. Card.*" (I elect for Sovereign Pontiff my most Reverend Lord Cardinal ———). The name of the candidate for whom the elector wished to vote was written here. At the bottom of the ballot, which was left empty, the elector inscribed a device, which was not infrequently a text of Scripture or a prayer. The top and bottom of the ballot were then folded together, the bottom being over the top, and were secured by a seal, which did not betray the elector's identity.

Two designs were engraved on the reverse side. The word "Nomen" was printed on the top one, meaning that under it on the obverse side would be found the name of the voter. The word "Signa" was on the lower, indicating that on the obverse would be found the voter's device. These designs prevented the writing from being read through the paper.

On the altar stood a chalice, in which the Cardinals, advancing, deposited their ballots, one by one in due order. Each kneeling, pronounced in Latin these words: "I call Christ our Lord, Who will judge me, to witness that I elect the person who, before God, I think should be elected, and which I shall make good in the vote of accession." [4]

[4] The vote of accession represents a second step, but by decision of the Cardinals it was dispensed with in 1903. It is seldom that a candidate receives the required two-thirds majority on the first ballot. If no candidate has received two-thirds, and the vote of accession is to be taken, a second ballot begins immediately. Each of the electors now marks his vote with the same device and number as before but in the middle part of the voting paper the words are altered to read: "*Accedo Reverendis, D. mea D. Card.*" (I transfer my vote to my Lord Cardinal ———.) If an elector wishes to vote as on the first ballot, he writes "*Nemini*" after this, meaning: "I do not wish to transfer my vote to any one." If the votes of accession combined with those of the first ballot give any Cardinal the requisite majority, a minute verification begins.

The ballots were burned at the end of each vote. If there was no election a little damp straw was strewn on the flames, which caused a thick column of dark smoke (*sfumata*) to arise from the chimney. Thus the waiting crowd in the piazza of St. Peter's knew that the Papacy was still vacant. After the scrutiny which showed that a Pope had been chosen, the ballots were burned without the straw and the white smoke conveyed the welcome news to the multitude.

A grave difficulty in the choice of a new Pope presented itself to the Sacred College. Many of the members desired the elevation of Cardinal Rampolla, Leo's brilliant Secretary of State, who had spoken the mind and executed the policies of that Pontiff, and to whose skill and breadth of view Leo owed not a few of the successes in diplomacy which he obtained. Rampolla, for all his tact, had been no more wanting in courage than his master. Austria, then the leading Catholic power, feared that his friendship for France would be too much in evidence if he rose to the Papacy, and his numerous body of supporters in the conclave were weakened in their stand by the impression that his election was impossible. The difficulty which an aggressive Papal Secretary of State must find in obtaining the equal good will of all the powers is apparent.

By custom rather than law, but still a custom which, previous to 1903, had possessed the weight of law, the right of veto on the election of any one as Pope had been conceded to the three principal Catholic powers, Austria, France and Spain, and they had sought to exercise it not infrequently. There was a belief that if Rampolla's

election became probable, Austria would seize the opportunity to interpose directly.

Cardinals Serafino Vannutelli, Svampa and Gotti, each of whom would have been considered a worthy successor of Leo, also commanded considerable followings. The general view among the electors before the balloting began was that Vannutelli would win. The result reinforced the credence given to the ancient saying: "He who enters the conclave Pope, comes out Cardinal." Svampa's name was associated with certain prophecies attributed in recent times to the twelfth century St. Malachy of Armagh, among which "*ignis ardens*," or burning fire, was indicated for the successor of Leo. Gotti was the Prefect of the Propaganda, called the "Red Pope" on account of his power in that office, and also the "Marble Cardinal" because he had worn the white habit of a Carmelite monk.

One of those who had discussed with his colleagues before the period of seclusion the chances of these prominent candidates was Cardinal Sarto, the loved and simple-hearted Patriarch of Venice. It had not entered his thoughts that he himself might be chosen to the Pontificate, and when he left his See to take part in the conclave he had bought a return ticket. To his amazement, he received five votes on the first ballot. Turning to one who was near him he said:

"The Cardinals are amusing themselves at my expense."

Rampolla led at the outset of the voting, and continued to gain for some time. On the third scrutiny he received twenty-nine votes, forty-two being necessary to elect. Just before the fourth ballot, the expected veto of Aus-

tria was communicated by the Archbishop of Cracow, but Rampolla held his twenty-nine votes firmly. The Cardinals wished to indicate clearly that they desired to preserve their freedom of action.

But Sarto had developed unexpected strength, and the supporters of Rampolla began to lose heart more and more. On the fifth ballot, still desiring to assert their independence, they rallied again, and he received thirty votes, his highest for the conclave, while Sarto received twenty-seven.

Sarto now seemed positively frightened, and begged the Cardinals not to think of him. His tears flowed again as he exclaimed: "I beseech you to forget my name." Cardinal Lecot having addressed a remark to him in French, he replied that he did not understand that language. With Gallic spirit, Lecot responded: "You will never be Pope if you do not speak French." "Thanks be to God!" exclaimed Sarto fervently.[5]

Though Rampolla had maintained and even increased his vote, it was now evident that he would not be elected. The appeals of Sarto could not be disregarded by his colleagues, and the situation had reached an impasse. All of the Cardinals but Gibbons seemed to consider that the election of the Patriarch of Venice was impossible. Gibbons sounded out the situation by questioning some of them, and they agreed in the view that Sarto could no longer be considered a candidate. He had positively refused to accept any further support, and the situation appeared to have fallen back to where it was when the conclave had begun.

[5] Forbes, *Life of Pius X*, p. 62.

To Gibbons the developments of the conclave had but one meaning. Sarto was the choice of the Cardinals, and that choice must not be set aside. In his bare room, he held a consultation with his long time friend and devoted adherent, Satolli, and they canvassed the situation with the gravest concern. Satolli, like the other Italian Cardinals, could see no available candidate, and he was equally positive that it was impossible to persuade Sarto to swerve from his decision.

Gibbons had great faith in the persuasive eloquence of Satolli, and he felt that as a fellow-countryman of the Patriarch of Venice no one was better fitted to induce Sarto to turn aside from a decision that seemed irrevocable. Many had pleaded with him, but Gibbons doubted that these appeals had been carefully calculated as to their effectiveness; and he decided to frame for himself a speech to be addressed to Sarto, through the mouth of Satolli, imploring him to lay aside his objections, and urging upon him as a duty to submit to the will of Providence, sacrificing himself in the interest of religion. Satolli was firmly convinced that the project would be futile, but he could refuse nothing that Gibbons asked, and he promised to undertake the mission.

This state of mind on Satolli's part confirmed Gibbons in his view of the necessity of framing his own argument to be presented, for he alone appeared to believe that Sarto could still be persuaded. When Satolli exclaimed "What shall we do?—What can we do?" Gibbons replied:

"Cardinal Sarto must be made to accept. He must not be allowed to refuse. Impress upon him with all the

force of that eloquence which you possess that he is the choice of his colleagues; that God's will is being manifested through them; that he must accept the sacrifice, take up the burden, and God will give him the necessary strength to guide the bark of Peter."

Gibbons elaborated the appeal and Satolli proceeded to execute his delicate undertaking. Inspired by the earnestness of Gibbons, he pressed home one argument after another, until at length he induced Sarto to say that he would accept election "as a cross."

Satolli reported his success to Gibbons, who proceeded on the same night to call on Sarto and strengthen him in his decision by pouring the balm of consolation upon his troubled spirit. He assured the Pope-to-be that the Church in America, with all her devotion and enthusiasm, would be an element of strength to him, his glory and his crown. Sarto never forgot that interview.

Gibbons requested Satolli to announce Sarto's acceptance to the conclave without delay, and the joyful news: "He has consented" passed among the electors. Satolli declared to the conclave that Sarto, yielding to the pressure of his colleagues, had resigned himself to Providence. On the next ballot, the sixth, he received thirty-five votes, while Rampolla's vote fell to sixteen. On the seventh ballot fifty votes were cast for Sarto, and he was elected.

After the election the canopies of all the thrones, except Sarto's, were lowered, according to custom. He was on the verge of prostration, and a deathly pallor overspread his countenance. Restoratives were administered to him and at length he revived sufficiently to be robed in the white cassock of a Pope. After he had chosen the

name of Pius, he removed his red zucchetto and presented it to Archbishop Merry del Val, indicative of the future elevation of that prelate to the Sacred College.

Gibbons saw, as he said, "the overruling action of the Holy Ghost in those heterogeneous elements" that composed the Sacred College, and upon leaving the Sistine Chapel at the conclusion of the conclave he exclaimed: "The finger of God is here."

Thus was the voice of an American, heard for the first time in a Papal conclave, potent in bringing about a decision. The hopelessness regarding Sarto's acceptance which appeared to overpower the other Cardinals, was foreign to Gibbons because he was never hopeless and rarely despondent. It was not the first time that he had brought a great result out of seeming failure. When other men wavered, his natural disposition, as well as his judgment, seemed to incline him to stand more firmly than ever.

The Cardinals could not fail to recall the parallel to the conclave of 1878 when Cardinal Pecci, the future Leo XIII, had been on the point of pleading with the Sacred College not to elect him. O'Reilly relates that just before the voting began Pecci said to one of the members of the Sacred College:

"I cannot control myself. I must address the Sacred College. I fear that they are about to commit a sad mistake. People think I am a learned man. They take me as one possessing wisdom; but I am neither learned nor wise. They suppose I have the necessary qualifications for a Pope; I have nothing of the kind. That is what I want to say to the Cardinals."

The other Cardinal replied:

"As to your learning, we, not you, can best judge of that. As to your qualifications for the Pontifical office, God knows what they are; leave it all to Him."

Cardinal Pecci obeyed.[6]

On the evening of the day on which the conclave ended Gibbons called on the new Pope and found that his agitation had departed. A great inward calm sustained him. Pius, who by that time had learned of the influences which had operated within the conclave, welcomed the American Cardinal with the deepest gratitude and affection. He accepted his elevation as due to the working of Divine Providence, of which Gibbons had been an instrument in saving him from holding out to the end, in his deep humility, against the call to the Papacy.

Pius, in his thankfulness, would have granted almost any request that Gibbons could have made, but the only wish which the American Cardinal had to express at that time was characteristic of him—one for a simple personal service to others. Some American pilgrims were in Rome, having started from their distant homes in the expectation of being received by Leo XIII. Now there was a new Pope, but they were obliged to leave the city the next day. Would Pius see them in their eagerness to be among the first to behold the successor of Leo after his elevation? They did not fully comprehend the difficulty of granting their request, and they believed, like other American Catholics, that Gibbons could accomplish almost anything.

The Cardinal knew of the preoccupations of the new

[6] O'Reilly, *Life of Leo XIII*, p. 310.

Pope on the second day of his reign. He knew that it would be almost presumptuous to ask Pius to turn aside from the mass of decisions that were pressing upon him to receive any part of the group of pilgrims who are nearly always in Rome, but his kind heart would not permit his voice to frame the word "no" to his fellow-countrymen. He decided to present the request to Pius, knowing that the Pope would comply, if at all, only as a favor to him and not as a favor to the American visitors.

He found the Pope more than ready to do what he proposed. Pius, notwithstanding the need of conserving and regulating his time, when so many wished to see him upon business that could not be deferred, replied instantly that he would grant the request with pleasure "at any time you suggest," thus giving the visit of the Americans precedence over everything else that was immediately before him. Gibbons responded:

"I shall be glad if you will receive them, your Holiness, at any time which *you* may suggest."

"I will receive them to-morrow afternoon," replied Pius, and he kept his word.

Gibbons accompanied the pilgrims into the Papal audience chamber. When he went forward to kiss the hand of the Pontiff, as is customary, Pius would not permit it; in a burst of affection, he opened his arms, embraced Gibbons and kissed him on both cheeks.

Gibbons could not leave Rome without canvassing the situation and prospects of the Church in America with the new Pontiff, to whom he must now look for support. He knew, of course, that Pius lacked the varied and ac-

curate knowledge of America which Leo had shown on so many occasions, partly the result of the experience of a quarter of a century in the Papacy, partly of an exceptional memory and partly also of his direct personal interest in Gibbons and Gibbons' country throughout his reign. To Pius, Venice had been the world; but he was ready to face his new responsibilities with courage and decision, and he wished now to learn what had seemed useless to him before.

He asked many questions of Gibbons; said that he had met few Americans, and that those with whom he had come in contact had impressed him favorably; and expressed deep interest in the welfare of the country and the character of its people. The Pope renewed his expressions of affection for the American Cardinal, who had seen clearly when others in the recent conclave had doubted. He seemed to feel that in Gibbons he had a helper upon whom he could lean with implicit confidence, at a time when the necessity was imposed upon him of extreme care in weighing advice that was given him before accepting it.

Gibbons saw how necessary it was to enlist the interest of Pius in the Catholic University, whose continued progress was dependent upon the favor of the head of the Church. His heart was in his words as he pleaded for "the child of his age," and Pius listened to him with ready sympathy. The Pope acceded to the wish of Gibbons by promising that he would issue a brief in behalf of the university, and would follow its development with interest and whole-hearted support.

It was desired also that an exhibit of Vatican relics

should be prepared for the St. Louis Exposition soon to be held in honor of the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase, in which project the support of Gibbons had been enlisted. One of the first Pontifical acts of Pius was to direct that these relics be sent to St. Louis as a symbol of the Papal favor for an observance that marked the transfer to the American flag of a great region first penetrated by Catholic missionaries and explorers.

CHAPTER XXXVI

NEW OVATIONS AT HOME

After the tension of the Papal conclave and the events which it had brought in its train, Gibbons felt the need of recuperation. He spent several days at Castle Gandolfo, the summer home of the American College, after which he left Rome for Switzerland. At Territet, on the Lake of Geneva, he remained for ten days as the guest of Francis de Sales Jenkins, a member of a Catholic family of Maryland identified with that State since the days of the Calverts, among whose members were some of the most devoted personal friends of Gibbons. This beautiful home, which was called "The Villa Maryland," was near the Castle of Chillon, made famous by Byron; and there amid congenial surroundings the Cardinal was able to regain his strength rapidly. From Territet, he proceeded to Houlgate, Normandy, where he was the guest of Leopold Huffer for a time at the "Villa Columbia."

The extent of the Cardinal's influence upon the decision of the conclave was not then known in America, nor indeed anywhere outside of a small circle in Rome. The fact that he had been the first American to participate in the election of a Pope was, however, sufficient in itself to excite the keen interest of his fellow-countrymen; and when he returned to Baltimore September 24 the city was moved to acclaim him as never before. By this time he

had become beyond all doubt a popular hero in his own country.

Even though the details of what he had accomplished in behalf of his fellow-men were unknown or obscured as a result of the secrecy which necessarily surrounded many of his actions in inner councils, the people had obtained in an indefinable way a true sense of what he was and what he stood for. The admiration of Catholic Americans for him was, of course, based chiefly upon the fact that no man whom their country had contributed to the Church had attained such influence as he in shaping her weightier decisions. He was now before the world in a clear light as one of the leaders of the Church who stood with a small group at the head of all others in his time; one of three, the others being Leo and Manning, who had been most potent in guiding the Church during Leo's reign; one whose American patriotism, tried and true, presented in their minds an example which few other men had ever presented, a patriotism which had burned with a strong and steady light so that all might see while statesmen and causes rose and fell; one whose advocacy of the institutions of his country inside and outside the Church had established America in the eyes of Europeans in a position which they had never before acknowledged her to possess; the foremost influence in preventing the essential integrity of American constitutional government from being threatened by the sudden wave of immigration which had caused alarm to some of the stoutest souls.

He stood before them now as a friend and counselor of Popes and Presidents, of churchmen and statesmen in

high places; above all, as one who spoke sanely and calmly and convincingly upon the larger questions that divided the thoughts of men, and whose voice Americans were readier to hear with respect and approval than any other voice in the land.

Thus, while there was inevitable obscurity in the public mind regarding the processes by which the Catholic Church in the deliberations of her foremost leaders shapes her decrees intended to elevate the lives of men, and while many of Gibbons' acts of participation in decisions of State relating to his own country shared that obscurity, the people seemed to have formed the same judgment of him as if they had known all. They rated him for what he was and, as Americans always do, rated him largely for character. Non-Catholics shared with Catholics their complete confidence in his sincerity and earnestness, no less than in the striking ability which alone could have enabled him to attain what they saw he had attained.

In the eyes of Americans he stood almost isolated as a sage and a patriot; as one raised to a height and yet living and moving among his fellow countrymen without vanity or pomp as one of them, sharing in the trials and problems of the humblest as well as the greatest, a servant of God and a friend of mankind.

If the test of a man be the esteem in which he is held at home by those who know him best, surely no one met that test more fully than Gibbons. To Baltimore he had become the beloved first citizen. His fame overshadowed the city and in their affection for him, unrestrained by arbitrary boundaries of creed, the people of Baltimore felt that they shared in that fame. When any great ac-

complishment was to be undertaken by his neighbors, they thought of him first. His name must head the list of those to whom they would look for discriminating approval and powerful support. In their eyes he embodied the loftiest type which they could produce, the citizen *par excellence*, the master spirit who walked among them and yet who walked so simply that they felt that he was brother as well as chief.

The city could not be restrained in its exuberance when he returned from the conclave. When he arrived at the railroad station, Mayor McLane and a full representation of the civic authorities were waiting to receive him, while outside the building dense crowds filled the air with a din of cheering similar to that which would have marked the visit of a President. The Mayor expressed the feelings of all in the following speech of greeting:

"Your Eminence has already received a most hearty welcome, most properly extended to you on your arrival in this country by the members of the society in which you have shown so much interest, and to whose success you have contributed so much. It becomes my pleasant duty to extend to you a wider welcome, which embraces the citizens of Baltimore generally, of all creeds and conditions, who, one and all, cherish the deepest reverence and respect for your great and noble character.

"When the news of the death of the Pope reached us, it was received with a feeling of apprehension by us on account of the arduous strain of your great responsibilities in a trying climate, and we feared its influence upon your health, and the sympathies of the entire community went out to you. To see you return in good health is a great pleasure, and, in behalf of my fellow-citizens of Baltimore, I extend to you a most hearty welcome and the

best wishes of the entire community for a long life of perfect happiness."

Judge Heuisler, a Catholic, spoke in the name of the members of his faith, when he said:

"It is true, your Eminence, and happy am I to say it, that all the people of America appreciate you, revere you, and love you for the work that you have done; and this greeting, while with us but local, will be heard with pleasure and with sympathy in all sections of our common country. In the presence of profound emotions, all hearts must speak from out the window of the soul; the eye must flash the welcome and the lips be dumb; and I will say no more. *Cead mille failthe*—a hundred thousand welcomes."

The Cardinal, greatly moved, responded with a few words of thanks voiced from the depths of his soul.

He had been informed of the program of welcome before his arrival in the city, and, accompanied by the city officials and others, took his place in a carriage in the line of a great parade of church and civic organizations which escorted him to the Cathedral. Every window along the street was crowded with people who applauded. After the American fashion, he bowed continuously as his carriage moved slowly along, and did not fail to acknowledge the numerous salutes from personal friends, bestowing a smile upon each of them whom he recognized in the crowds.

Arriving at the Cathedral, a group of young women, dressed in white and carrying American flags, greeted him and one of them presented to him a bouquet of sixty-nine roses, one for each year of his life. Taking his place

upon the portico of the Cathedral, with the Mayor beside him, he reviewed the parade.

After the procession was over the Cardinal entered the Cathedral and spoke simply to his friends and neighbors. He told them of his travels; of some of his experiences in Rome; and did not fail to mention that the American pilgrims had been the first to be received by the new Pontiff.

"And now," he remarked, "I am most happy to be home again."

He commended the new Pope to the prayers of all, and bestowed his blessing upon the multitude. Solemn benediction followed. Proceeding to his residence in the rear of the church, he found another cheering crowd massed in front of it, and was obliged to appear at the bay window from which he so often reviewed parades and from which now he expressed his thanks for the ovation.

It had long been his custom after returning from trips abroad to preach at the Cathedral upon his experiences. On Sunday, October 4, a great congregation assembled to hear a sermon from him in which he gave his impressions of the Papal conclave. As always at the Cathedral during his long tenure as Archbishop, hundreds of Protestants were present when he preached.

He began by saying that twelve nations had been represented by the sixty-two Cardinals who had taken part in the conclave, and that "this was the first time in the history of the Christian religion that the United States, or any part of this western hemisphere, was ever associated with the other nations of Christendom in selecting a successor to the Prince of the Apostles. He added:

"I should not be surprised if in the next conclave the Catholic Church of the United States were to be represented by several members of the Sacred College, so that the number of Cardinals from our country may be commensurate with the population, the grandeur and the commanding influence of the nation, and may be in keeping also with the numerical strength of our Hierarchy and laity and the splendor and progress of our religious and charitable institutions." [1]

The Cardinal spoke of the "high order of intelligence, great discretion, large experience, and integrity of character" which had marked the Cardinals as he had observed them, and added:

"The Cardinals, however, are not angels, but men, subject to the usual infirmities and temptations of flesh and blood. And because they are not exempt from the frailties incident to mankind, and because of the peerless dignity of the Supreme Pontificate, as well as of the tremendous responsibility it involves, every precaution that human ingenuity and experience could suggest had been availed of in this, as in preceding conclaves, so that no cloud should rest over the election of the successful candidate.

"I was present at the conclave and took part in its proceedings, and without revealing its secrets, I can most positively assure you and the American people that the election of the Pope was conducted with absolute freedom, with the utmost fairness and impartiality, and with a dignity and solemnity becoming the august assemblage of the Sacred College, and the momentous consequences of their suffrages."

[1] At the time of the election of Benedict XV, the successor of Pius X, there were four American Cardinals, counting Cardinal Falconio, who was an American citizen.

Gibbons carefully omitted to mention his own part in the solution of the deadlock which had confronted the conclave when the election of Rampolla became impossible and Sarto had refused to accept elevation. He told of Sarto's plea "that you shall forget my name," and remarked:

"All were moved by the modesty and the transparent sincerity of the man. When he resumed his seat, his cheeks were suffused with blushes, tears were gushing from his eyes, and his body trembled with emotion. Never did a prisoner make greater efforts to escape from his confinement than did Cardinal Sarto to escape from the yoke of the Papacy. With his Divine Master, he exclaimed: 'Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless, not my will, but Thine be done!' When his election was officially announced, his florid countenance assumed a deathly pallor and restoratives were applied to save him from fainting."

He characterized the new Pontiff as "a man of God and a man of the people," adding that the virtues of humility, sincerity, candor and benevolence were stamped upon his features.

Gibbons proceeded to point out that the Papacy was the most ancient of all existing dynasties. He continued:

"The influence of the Papacy is more far-reaching than that of any earthly ruler. Kings and emperors and civil magistrates exact external compliance with the laws of the land. They cannot control the sanctuary of the heart. The Sovereign Pontiff, though he has no army to enforce his commands, makes and interprets laws which bind the consciences of men.

"The rule of the successors of Peter has been the most

beneficent in the cause of civilization and humanity. When the Roman Empire was dissolved, the ark of the Church, under the guidance of the Sovereign Pontiffs, floated triumphantly on the troubled waters beneath which the monuments of centuries had lain entombed.

"The Papacy has contributed more than any civil government to the intellectual progress of mankind. If Europe is today immeasurably in advance of Asia, in literature, in the arts and sciences, is it not because Europe was more in touch than Asia with the Roman Pontiff, and felt the impress of his strong but tender hand?

"Were it not for the unceasing vigilance of the Bishops of Rome, the crescent instead of the Cross would have surmounted the domes and temples of Europe; Mohammedanism instead of Christianity would be the dominant religion of that continent, and our fathers who came from Europe would have brought with them their religion and their laws from the Koran instead of the Bible.

"Among the Pontiffs who have sat in the Chair of Peter for the last three centuries, Leo XIII, whom Pius X succeeded, stands pre-eminent. He has indelibly stamped the impress of his name and genius on the civilized world. He has written Encyclicals to the nations of Christendom, treating on the most momentous subjects of the day. He has dealt not with abstract or speculative questions, but with topics affecting the social and political as well as the moral and religious well-being of the world. He has conclusively shown that he was always in touch with humanity and could say with the Roman of old: "*Nil humani a me alienum puto*"—'Every subject affecting the interests of mankind is dear to me.'

"Need we therefore wonder that Leo's name was revered and loved not only by his own spiritual children, but also by persons of every creed, and by every man who had at heart the uplifting of his fellow-being?

"While living, he was everywhere honored because his

words were a tower of strength in the cause of Christianity and stable government. Kings, emperors, and princes of every belief vied with one another in paying homage to him and in visiting him. But what he more esteemed, he was loved and cherished by the sovereign people.

"Leo has lifted up the Catholic Church to a higher plane of dignity and strength than it had attained since the days of Leo X. He has infused new life into the missionary world. He has quickened with renewed zeal every Bishop, priest and layman that fell within the scope of his influence. He has left to his successor the precious heritage of a blameless life and an Apostolic character.

"What a subject of profound reflection is presented by the contrast between the funeral rites of the late Pontiff and the coronation of his successor! All that was left on earth of the great Leo at his obsequies were his emaciated and shrivelled remains. That voice which had thrilled millions throughout the world was hushed forever. Those hands which were daily raised to bless lay motionless on his breast. The same liturgical prayers were chanted, and the same sacrifice of propitiation was offered for him that are employed in behalf of the humblest layman. Supplications were poured forth to the Throne of Grace, not for Leo the saint, nor Leo the scholar and statesman, but for Leo the humble penitent, who like all the children of Adam, could be saved only through the redeeming merits of Jesus Christ."

Gibbons described the scene when a newly elected Pontiff is borne in triumph into St. Peter's basilica, when a master of ceremonies goes before him with a wand to which is attached a vase containing burning tow, crying out from time to time "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*" He concluded:

"I am sure, however, that the humble Pontiff did not need this reminder, nor was he elated or dazzled by the splendor of the pageant; but, like his Master who wept on entering in triumph the city of Jerusalem, Pius was overwhelmed by the contemplation of the heavy cross he was destined to bear through life. . . .

"What a commentary is all this on the vanity of human glory! How eloquently it proclaims the truth that God alone is great, and that nothing can satisfy man's ambition except that which is eternal."

Pius issued the promised brief in behalf of the Catholic University among the first state papers produced in the course of his reign. It was dated September 9, 1903, and addressed to Gibbons as chancellor of the institution. Gibbons had asked him to sanction the proposal that a collection be taken up in all the churches throughout the United States annually for ten years on the first Sunday in Advent, or the first convenient Sunday thereafter, for the support of the University. Pius, in his brief, gave his hearty sanction to this plan for "enhancing the dignity and enlarging the influence of this noble seat of learning." He declared it to be his earnest wish that the Bishops and laity should "labor strenuously for the good of the university."

Pius wrote several times to Gibbons that the American Cardinal's prediction that the Church in the United States would be one of the greatest sources of consolation to him during his term in the supreme Pontificate had not only been verified, but that the results had far exceeded his anticipations.

The Pope repeated this personally a few years later

when Gibbons visited Rome [2] before attending the International Eucharistic Congress in London, at which he had been invited to preach. Soon after his arrival in the Eternal City, on that occasion, Gibbons was greeted by two hundred Americans who happened to be there on a pilgrimage. Later in an audience with Pius, he went over current problems of the Church in America, and the Pope conveyed his warm appreciation of the progress that had been attained.

The viewpoint of Pius, Gibbons found, was still that of the ecclesiastic, rather than that of the statesman, in contrast to Leo, with whom he had weathered so many storms. The man who now ruled as Pope appeared to be unchanged in his personality by his experiences in that office. He deplored his confinement in the Vatican, and expressed his keen regret that he was never again to see the Venetian canals. His sympathy and support were still as freely extended as before to the Cardinal who had done so much to bring about his election. When in the course of Gibbons' visit to Rome he was stricken with a serious temporary ailment incident to the climate, while spending a short time at the summer home of the American College, the Pope sent an expression of deep sympathy and asked to be constantly informed of his condition.

Gibbons recovered fully in a short time. After a rest in Switzerland, where he was the guest of Benziger, the artist, at Brunnen, on Lake Lucerne, he was able to proceed to London, where he preached in Westminster Cathedral on the last day of the Eucharistic Congress, Septem-

[2] 1908.

ber 13, a sermon which was one of the principal events of that gathering. He exhorted fraternity between English and American Catholics, saying:

"Maryland, the mother of the Church in the United States, was founded by English Catholics. Leonard Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and the leader of the English Catholic colony, desirous of securing liberty of worship for his co-religionists, sailed with them from Cowes, Isle of Wight, in the *Ark* and *Dove*—fitting messengers to carry the fortunes of the pioneer pilgrims. They reached their destination on the banks of the Potomac, in 1634.

"This colony of British Catholics was the first to establish on American soil the blessings of civil and religious liberty. While the Puritans of New England persecuted other Christians, and while the Episcopalians of Virginia persecuted Catholics and Puritans, Catholic Maryland gave freedom and hospitality to Puritans and Episcopalians alike. In the words of Bancroft:

"'The foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. . . . But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws; but through the benign administration of the government of that province, no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ was permitted to be molested on account of religion. Under the munificence and superintending mildness of Lord Baltimore, a dreary wilderness was soon quickened with swarming life and the activity of prosperous settlements: the Roman Catholics, who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered from Protestant intolerance. Such were the beautiful

auspices under which Maryland started into being. Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration.'"

Gibbons went on to describe "the chain of hallowed associations" between the Catholic Church of England and that of America. He recalled that Carroll, the first American Bishop, had been consecrated in 1790 in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, the seat of Thomas Weld, and that one of the acolytes who had served on that occasion had been a son of the master of the castle, who afterwards became Cardinal Weld. The Rev. Charles Plowden, of the Society of Jesus, an intimate friend of Carroll, had preached the consecration sermon in which he had foreshadowed the growth and development of the Church in America with a vision which Gibbons called prophetic. The American Cardinal continued:

"But there are other and higher reasons than personal friendship to justify the participation by American prelates in the ceremonies of today. Though we are separated from you by an immense ocean, we are united with you, thank God, in the heritage of a common faith. We, across the Atlantic, claim, as well as you, to be the spiritual children of Gregory, Augustine and Patrick, of Alban and Venerable Bede, of Anselm and Thomas of Canterbury, of Peter and Pius; we have with you one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.

"Indeed, our kinship is stronger and more enduring than that which is created by flesh and blood. When I entered your Cathedral this morning, I could say to you all, in the name of my countrymen, and in the language of the Apostle of the Gentiles: 'We are no more strangers

and foreigners, but we are fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone.' This sentiment inspires me with confidence, and makes me feel at home; for, I am addressing you as brothers in the faith, and I can speak to you with all the warmth and affection of the same Apostle: 'My mouth is open to you,' fellow-Catholics of England, 'my heart is enlarged.'

"But we inherit not only the traditions of your Christian faith; we inherit also the traditions of your civil and political freedom. The great charter of liberty, which Cardinal Langton of Canterbury and the English Barons wrested from King John, on the plains of Runnymede, is the basis of our constitutional liberties. We share with you in the fruit of your victories.

"We have not only a common heritage of civil and political freedom, but we also speak the same language—the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare, of Pope and Dryden, of Tennyson and Newman. The steady growth of the Church in the English-speaking world, during the last three centuries, is truly gratifying, and may be considered phenomenal. For, whereas, in the sixteenth century the number of English-speaking Bishops was considerably under thirty there are now upwards of two hundred Bishops ruling dioceses where English is the prevailing language."

Gibbons commented upon the remarkable proportions of the Catholic revival in England in the century just passed, saying:

"I may add that if the Catholic Church is now viewed with so much respect and benevolence by the people of England, this circumstance may be ascribed in no small

measure to the fact that the Catholic Hierarchy, and especially the three Cardinals who have ruled the diocese of Westminster, have not only deported themselves as devoted churchmen, but that they had taken a personal, loyal, vital interest in every measure that contributed to the moral, social and economic welfare of their beloved country.

"Over fifty years ago, after the re-establishment of the English Catholic Hierarchy, at the synod of Oscott, the illustrious Dr. Newman preached a sermon on the 'Second Spring,' in which, in his own matchless style and silvery voice, he spoke of the hopes and prospects of the Church in England, after the winter of her tribulations had passed away. Had God spared him to our day, with what eloquence could he portray to you how the Spring had bloomed and ripened into Summer; and, as a proof of this development, he could point to this mystical tree of life, under whose stately arches we are all assembled, spreading its branches far and wide, so that from henceforth thousands may be sheltered beneath its ample shade, and be nourished by its perennial fruit of grace and sanctification."

Though Gibbons had been impressed that Summer had followed the "Second Spring" for English Catholics which Newman had forecast so eloquently, he could not help observing differences which still lingered between the attitude toward the Church in his own country, and that taken even among so enlightened a people as the English. On the day when he preached, it had been intended to carry the Host in the procession through the streets; but fearing disturbances, Premier Asquith interposed, and the program was changed.

Gibbons remained in England for a short time, being

the guest of the Duke of Norfolk and receiving other social honors. Five years had elapsed since Baltimore had given him a public reception, and the city's appetite was whetted for a new outburst of that kind. Gibbons did his best to prevent it and wrote home an earnest request that the plans be abandoned; but so great was the desire to testify the unique esteem in which he was held by his neighbors of all religious faiths, that despite his own desires the preparations moved forward with redoubled energy. When he learned that the State of Maryland, as well as the city, was to share in the reception through its officials, he was somewhat reconciled to the plan and reluctantly assented.

Arriving in Baltimore Saturday, October 10, he was greeted by a committee, including Governor Crothers and his staff, Mayor Mahool and the City Council, Charles J. Bonaparte, then Attorney General of the United States, and other prominent persons. The Governor, a Methodist, and the Mayor, an active layman of the Presbyterian Church, hailed him with laudatory speeches. He replied, as usual, in words of simple kindliness and thankfulness, saying:

"I am profoundly moved by this expression of kindness. I have no words to convey the deep gratitude that fills my heart. When I learned for the first time of this, I wrote back to Baltimore, requesting and directing that it be abandoned, as I saw no occasion for it; but when I learned that it came from all the people, and that the Governor of this liberty-loving State was to take part in it, and the Mayor of this city, which I love so dearly, I waived all personal feelings."

Again there was a public parade to the Cathedral, in which 15,000 persons took part, including 500 from Washington, the capital city being a part of Gibbons' jurisdiction as Archbishop of Baltimore. The significance of the scene could not be forgotten by any one who looked upon the Cardinal standing upon the portico of that beautiful building, the greatest shrine of Catholic memories in America, with the executive officers of State and city massed around him reviewing the procession, all joining in a tribute no less of neighborly love than of profound respect for the slender figure in the red robe who was the center of it all. Within the edifice the Cardinal gave solemn benediction and the Papal blessing.

Honors were now beginning to be paid him by those among whom he had labored with signal success in the earlier days of his career. Though a national figure, he had always had a singular faculty of taking root wherever he was stationed. Not the least of those who held him in grateful memory were North Carolinians, many of whom then living could recall the days when, in their own state as a missionary Bishop, he had exemplified those greater traits which had made him one of the principal figures of the world. The North Carolina Society of Baltimore, most of whose members were Protestants, joined with his other fellow-citizens in the tribute of welcome, and presented to him an engrossed address conveying warm compliments and grateful praise.

CHAPTER XXXVII

CHECKING THE TIDE OF SOCIALISM

Gibbons was one of the first to detect signs of the sudden drift toward Socialism in America, which coincided with the advent of the twentieth century. He knew that in every country where the sun shines and the rain descends and where men eat bread in the sweat of their brows, there were bound to be lean years as well as fat years, and that the leap in the population of the United States had immensely widened the circle of those upon whom the burden of periodical scarcity must weigh. That any large proportion of those who dwelt under the flag to which he and they owed allegiance should rush heedlessly, from the pressure of temporary conditions, into ill-considered, and, above all, anti-Christian experiments, would be, in his mind, an evil of the first magnitude. In the preservation of the calmness and sane balance of the people, he saw the only permanent safeguard of democratic institutions.

Sensing the situation in advance, he felt that the Church here must be aroused to resist the threatened danger. His position in the Church in America was such that if counter action against Socialism was to come, he must lead it in order to give it effectiveness. Pius IX, the first Pope to come in contact with modern Socialism,

had condemned it both in principle and in definite details. Leo XIII had done the same thing, and in his encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris* and *Rerum Novarum* had set forth in clear terms the resistance of Christianity to the pure materialism which was the professed ideal of the Marxians.

In the first of these encyclicals, issued soon after his accession to the Pontificate in 1878, Leo declared that "although the Socialists, turning to evil use the Gospel itself so as to deceive more readily the unwary, have been wont to twist it to their meaning, still so striking is the disagreement between their criminal teachings and the pure doctrine of Christ that no greater can exist." He set forth that "equality among men consists in this, that one and all, possessing the same nature, are called to the sublime dignity of being sons of God; and, moreover, that one and the same end being set before all, each and every one has to be judged according to the same laws, and to have punishments or rewards meted out according to individual deserts. There is, however, an inequality of right and authority which emanates from the Author of nature Himself."

He declared that "the State, like the Church, should form one body comprising many members, some excelling others in rank and importance, but all alike necessary to one another and solicitous for the common welfare."

The encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was the one in which Leo, while taking direct issue with Socialism as a remedy for the ills of the working classes, reflected and fully endorsed the views of the right of labor to organize for bettering its economic condition which had been set forth

in Gibbons' masterly plea in behalf of the Knights of Labor. He declared that the Socialists in contending that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or municipal bodies, were "working on the poor man's envy of the rich." If the system which they proposed were actually set up, he held, "the workingman himself would be among the first to suffer." He rejected their proposals as "emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring State action into a sphere not within its competence, and create utter confusion in the community." The program of "class war" boldly proclaimed by the Socialists was, of course, the antithesis of the basis of Christianity for, as Leo declared:

"If Christian precepts prevail, the respective classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are children of the same common Father, who is God; that all have alike the same last end, which is God himself, who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy."

Leo set forth that "private ownership is in accordance with the law of nature." He declared that the Socialists' plan "would throw open the door to envy, to mutual invective, and to discord," adding:

"The sources of wealth themselves would run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting his talents or his industry; and that ideal equality about which they entertain pleasant dreams, would be in reality the leveling down of all to a like condition of misery and degradation."

Pius X had followed Leo in condemning Socialism. The philosophers and theologians of the Church upheld the view of the Pontiffs unanimously, as did experts of the Catholic laity on economics and sociology. Their primary view was that there was an antagonism between Christianity and the principle of Socialism. In every Catholic country they found Socialism anti-Christian in both theory and practise; and they held that convincing evidence of this was afforded by the utterances of the organs and speakers who spread the propaganda of the new cult.

No Socialist could have been animated by a greater desire to uplift the working classes than Gibbons; but in starting out to seek remedies, he took the road leading to God, and the Socialist, in his eyes, took the road leading away from God. He did not wish to condemn, of course, all the views which some Socialists expressed, but the fundamental, subversive doctrines of Marxism held by most American Socialists appalled him as the negation of Divine law, justice and reason. He had shown himself ready to defend, against the most powerful opposition, the right of labor to combine for its protection, and he had advocated legislation that would safeguard labor's interests. This predisposed him all the more to solicitude in saving the workingman from destroying the fruits of the struggle in labor's behalf by wandering off in pursuit of impractical remedies which invoked its name.

Besides, he suspected that, so far as America was concerned, many propagandists of Socialism used it as a mask behind which to hide a sullen hostility to the institutions of the United States. For many years after Socialism

had become a political force in Europe it had gained but the slenderest foothold of importance in the United States. Not until 1889 was the Socialist-Labor Party organized at Chicago, and its first Presidential candidate was put forward in the election in 1892. In that year the party could command only 21,164 votes out of the millions of electors by whose suffrages Mr. Cleveland was chosen. Four years later, it was again in the field with a candidate for President who received 36,274 votes. With the birth of the Social Democracy of America in 1897, which absorbed a considerable portion of the Socialist-Labor Party, the Socialist Party as it has since been known in the United States came into being. In the Presidential election of 1900 the Social-Democratic Party polled 87,814 votes, and the Socialist-Labor Party 39,739. Despite the large proportionate increase in this showing of strength, there was nothing particularly disconcerting in the figures. But when the Socialists polled 402,283 votes in the election of 1904, Gibbons read the signs of the times and prepared to throw the whole force of the Church against the further progress of the movement.

It was evident to him that at last the Socialists had become the nucleus of extreme discontent in the United States, as well as elsewhere, and this meant more than he or any other man could fathom. Both his duty to religion and his duty to his country, it appeared to him, impelled him to summon the most powerful influence available in order to stifle the movement before it could attain a degree of strength which might be considered a formidable obstacle to the orderly progress of America.

He was not unmindful that there was an element of support for the movement from native Americans, but he saw with misgivings that the great majority of its adherents in this country were men of foreign birth who had been disappointed in illusions cherished in their imaginative minds about the meaning of that equality of opportunity which was the American ideal. Seeing still with European eyes, herded together by force of circumstances, which Gibbons deplored, with men of their own kind in the larger cities of America, they abated none of the resentment against existing conditions which they had felt in their diverse home lands.

Gibbons, as always in setting out to accomplish a large object, seized the opportune time. Thoughts of the growth of Socialism filled his mind as preparations were made to celebrate in 1906 the centenary of the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltimore Cathedral and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the archbishopric. His own anniversary was on October 3, 1902, and he had been urged in the early part of that year to consent to an imposing celebration of the event in conformity with the custom of the Church. To be the central figure in another demonstration at which praise would be showered upon him by no means accorded with his wishes. He felt that his share of such things had already been too much, not knowing that the greatest of them, despite his own desires, were still to come.

In his humility he wished to put aside thoughts of self, lest his mind be diverted from the intense striving which seemed always to lead him on, no less at the age of sixty-eight years than in his earlier days. How to avoid

a celebration in 1902 without offending many who wished to do him honor was indeed a problem of no little difficulty; but at last he had a thought that solved it. He would combine his silver jubilee as Archbishop with the centenary of his dearly loved Cathedral, which he had come to feel was a part of himself. Reluctantly his plan was accepted by those who had been eager to make a great fête of his jubilee; but when the date of the Cathedral centenary drew near, it was found that he had carefully eliminated his own personality from the program.

It was fitting that Gibbons should speak through others at the celebration itself, and he delivered his own message in advance of that event. Preaching in the Cathedral February 4, 1906, he declared his position and that of the Church with regard to Socialism in a manner which riveted the attention of the nation. Inequality of rank, station and wealth, he said, were inevitable. The much-discussed statement in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," he interpreted to mean that all men are subject to the same political and moral laws; that all enjoy the same air and rain and sunshine of heaven and that all are equal before the law. He exclaimed:

"The most mischievous and dangerous individual to be met with in the community is the demagogue, who is habitually sowing broadcast the seeds of discontent among the people. He is disseminating the baneful doctrines of Socialism, which would bring all men down to a dead level, would paralyze industry and destroy all healthy competition. . . . He has not the capacity to discern that after all due allowance is made for human

energy, this varied condition of society must result from a law of life established by an overruling Providence."

In studying the material world, he said, he had been deeply impressed to observe that all the works of God were marked with the stamp of variety and inequality. The Almighty never cast any two creatures in the same mold. He continued:

"Ascending from the natural to the spiritual world, from the order of nature to the order of grace, we know there is not only variety, but that there are also grades of distinction among the angels in heaven. The angelic Hierarchy is composed of nine distinct choirs. There are angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities and powers, virtues, cherubim and seraphim. These angelic hosts ascend in rank, one above the other. One order of angels excels in sublimity of intelligence, or in intensity of love, or in the dignity of the mission assigned to them.

"And, in like manner, God is unequal in the distribution of his graces to mankind. He gives in large measure to one and in less measure to another. To one He grants five talents, to another He grants two, and to another He gives one talent. When the Divine Husbandman hires His laborers to work in His vineyard, He recompenses those who labored but one hour as much as He does those 'who have borne the burden of the day and the heat.' The reward is altogether disproportioned to the toil. If you complain of God's discrimination, Christ will answer you: 'My friend, I do thee no wrong. Take what is thine and go thy way. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will? Is thine eye evil because I am good? What claim have you on my justice? Is not all that you pos-

sess of nature or of grace the gratuitous gift of my bounty?' . . .

"Nevertheless, among God's elect there is no jealousy or discontent. Those who enjoy a high grade of bliss do not look with disdain on their inferiors; and those who are in a lower grade of felicity do not envy those above them. All are happy and contented, and praise the God of bounty for his gratuitous mercies.

"There is a tendency in our nature to chafe under authority. Thomas Paine published a well-known work on 'The Rights of Man.' He had nothing to say on the rights of God and the duties of man. A certain clergyman wrote a volume some years ago on 'The Rights of the Clergy.' From the beginning to the end of the work he said nothing on the duties and obligations of the clergy. The majority of mankind are so intent on their rights that they have no consideration for their responsibilities. If all of us had a deep sense of our sacred duties, we should not fail to come by our rights."

The surroundings under which this dominant note of the Cathedral celebration was amplified at the event itself on Sunday, April 29, were such as to give it the utmost force as a declaration by the Catholic Church in America. Archbishop Falconio, who had succeeded Martinelli as Papal Delegate, nine other Archbishops, fifty-six Bishops, four Abbots and about eight hundred priests assembled at the fountain head of the mother See. Archbishop Glennon, the gifted head of the archdiocese of St. Louis, preaching at the service of pontifical vespers on that day, voiced the thoughts of all that gathering of leaders when he said:

"The social fabric appears today to be in imminent danger, because old principles are ignored and old founda-

tions are attacked. What was held as law, is regarded now as injustice; what was held as government, is now deemed tyranny. It were folly to deny that the shadow of Socialism is hanging over the land, and, while learned men are busy pointing out its unreasonableness, its injustice, its lack of feasibility, the shadow deepens. And yet we fear not. The Church has a message for these coming years. Standing by that Cross, the Church would teach an equality that mere forms of poverty and wealth could not affect."

Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, the preacher at the Pontifical Mass with which the celebration was opened, dealt with the general subject of social discontent from another angle, by freely admitting the existence of serious evils in America which needed to be corrected, and in the correction of which Catholics were ready to share fully. He said:

"We justly laud the institutions and spirit of our country, but indiscriminate praise is no evidence of genuine, rational patriotism. On the contrary, it is often dangerous and holds out false security. . . . Marvelous as has been our progress in a single century, there is the greater need to preserve what we have gained and to correct where we have been deficient. Some have stated, and with a show of reason, that our leading, radical fault has been, and is, love of money, amounting to national avarice, and our eagerness in both the natural and religious order should be directed to neutralize or, at least, to moderate this tendency.

"But I can not believe that love of money is the predominant fault of the American people. They are too noble and generous a people to be a nation of misers. They freely give what they freely get, and are often prodigal in their generosity. No, I believe that ambition,

pride and inordinate independence and self-reliance are our most dangerous foes. Humility is becoming a name for pious weakness, and ambition is no longer a sin. The desire to be unknown is considered foolishness. . . .

"There are three great and increasing evils in our day—one affecting the individual; the second, the family, and the third, the state. I mean suicide, divorce and communism, leading to anarchy."

Gibbons confined his own part in the main celebration to felicitations upon the progress of the Catholic faith during the century which had elapsed since the corner-stone of the Cathedral had been laid. The Pope had conveyed his share of these felicitations in a letter [1] sent for the occasion, which read:

"To our Beloved Son, James Gibbons,

"*Archbishop of Baltimore, Cardinal Priest of the Title of St. Mary, across the Tiber:*

"Beloved son, health and Apostolic benediction.

"When the first Archbishop of Baltimore, one hundred years ago, laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral, he laid, we may truly say, the foundation upon which the Church of America was to rise to its full and glorious height. For, whether we consider the ever increasing number of priests ordained within its walls, the Bishops there consecrated, the national councils there celebrated or the various magnificent solemnities or ecclesiastical functions which it has witnessed, all have happily found, as it were, their home in the Cathedral of Baltimore.

"Happily, we say, and ever with the promise of better things, as is proven by the extension of the Hierarchy; by the growth of the Catholic population; by the peaceful

[1] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

state of religion, your steadfast union with the See of Rome and by the manifold consolations which our heart has gathered from your achievements. Hence, we deem it worthy of our highest approval that you propose to commemorate with general rejoicing so signal an event. We need not tell you with what sentiments of good will and of heartfelt interest we share in this celebration. You are all aware that we have always most ardently adopted and are now equally eager to adopt whatsoever may avail to enhance the honor of our religion among the American people.

"Our eagerness herein is the greater because we are sure that you will respond, with common accord and endeavor, to the invitations which we, prompted by the memory of what you have accomplished for religion, extend to you on this timely and joyous occasion in urging the American people to still greater efforts in behalf of our Catholic faith. This exhortation we repeat in all earnestness, knowing full well that our words must aim not only at advancing the cause of religion, but also at furthering the public weal. Intent, therefore, as you now are, upon extolling the sacred memories of your forefathers, and setting forth the glories of your faith, we offer you our sincere congratulations and bestow upon you the praise that you fully deserve, both by your zeal in organizing this public celebration and by the habitual attitude of mind therein displayed. You manifest, indeed, a temper that we ardently desire to see cultivated by all Catholics—a temper, namely, which holds within itself, strong and full of promise, the hope of the future.

"Right joyously, then, we express our wishes for the prosperity of your churches and the success of this centenary observance. At the same time, as a pledge of heavenly graces and a token of our deep affection, we impart most lovingly our Apostolic benediction to you,

the Bishops, the clergy and the whole American people.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the second day of March, 1906, in the third year of our pontificate.

"Pius P. P. X."

Although the Cardinal had sought to efface himself from the festivities, he was not able to do so altogether. At a dinner which was given at St. Mary's Seminary in honor of the visiting prelates, the Papal Delegate conveyed to him the warmest congratulations upon his silver jubilee, expressing the hope that he might long be spared to continue his work for humanity.

On the evening of the next day there was a reception to the Hierarchy by Cardinal Gibbons and the clergy of the archdiocese at a large public hall. Governor Warfield, of Maryland, and Mayor Timamus, of Baltimore, friends and supporters of Gibbons, lent their presence to the event. Bishop Donahue, of Wheeling, who had spent years as a priest in Gibbons' household, spoke from intimate and discriminating knowledge when in an address at the meeting he said of the Cardinal:

"His life and achievements have shed undying luster on the Church for all time. He is a Prince of the Church; he is also one of the plainest and most democratic citizens of the land. His mind can rise to and grasp momentous questions of Church and State, yet with children he can be a child in playfulness and glee. With the wise, he is wise; with the simple, simple; simple in his tastes and habits of life, simple in demeanor, and a friend to the poor and helpless. I doubt if ever churchman trod the soil of America who has endeared himself to more hearts."

None knew better than that large gathering of Bishops that Gibbons was wise with the wise and simple with the simple. He had been to them leader and friend for more than twenty-five years. The thoughts that rose in their minds upon the centenary of the Cathedral, the seat of the mother See, the St. Peter's of the United States, were mingled with thoughts of the leader without fear and without reproach who had given to the Church a new aspect in the eyes of the American people, who towered now among the great figures of the world, statesman and churchman, exemplar of the religious virtues and of the civic virtues, who had led the Church in America out of the wilderness of distrust and even open hostility in which she had wandered for so many years and brought her at last into the promised land where she stood revealed before all the people in her own light, the light in which Gibbons had exhibited her when so many others had failed to do so. Acknowledging what he had done, they loved him even more for what he was; and on best no barrier interposed to prevent them from hailing best no barrier interposed to prevent them from hailing him with one voice as the preeminent and revered citizen.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SYMPATHY WITH FRENCH CATHOLICS

The passage of the French Law of Associations, and subsequent agitation and legislation which ended in the rupture of the Concordat, excited deep feelings on the part of Catholics in the United States. They could not, as churchmen, forget the ardent and fruitful help of France any more than as citizens they could forget Lafayette and Rochambeau. In the early days of European civilization on the American continent, Jesuits from the banks of the Seine and the Loire had carried the Cross up and down the new world; and when the Cross, no longer a wanderer, pointed to Heaven from the tops of thousands of churches, Cheverus and Flaget and Dubois and Dubourg and many other Bishops and clergy from France had helped to lay the foundations of religion in the youthful nation. Now the Church of France was in tears; and Americans who pondered on the bitter trials through which she was passing could not avoid contrasting them with the peaceful relations between religion and the State in their own country, and deploring that contrast.

So strongly were the American Bishops moved that, at their meeting held in the spring of 1906 at the Catholic University, a short time before the celebration of the Baltimore Cathedral centenary, they had decided to address a letter to the French Catholics, and requested Car-

dinal Gibbons, their presiding officer, to prepare it. He drew it up while the greater assemblage of prelates was in Baltimore, and sent it to Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, as the principal representative of the Church in France. He wrote:

"We would profit by the presence of so many distinguished prelates to offer to our brethren in France, not so happily circumstanced as we, an unequivocal testimony of our sympathy and our sincere wishes for the welfare of the Church of France. . . . We are compelled to assure you of the keen regret which we feel at sight of the bitter persecution to which the Church of France is subjected—a persecution which, particularly during the last quarter of a century, has been marked by exceptional and vexatious legislation. To crown these irritating enactments, the agreement which for a century bound the eldest daughter of the Church to Rome, has been, contrary to all the requirements of justice and honor, ruthlessly dissolved. The bloody conflicts immediately consequent upon the first application of this notorious law sanctioning the separation of Church and state, so recently and peremptorily condemned by Pius X, do but forecast disturbances of a more serious character. However, such misfortunes are bound to enlist in your behalf the sympathy and prayers of all true children of the Church. . . .

"It is difficult for minds accustomed to the complete liberty which we enjoy in this country to understand how a civilized government can, in the name of liberty, subject an entire Christian people to the yoke of official atheism. Here, on the contrary, our rulers recognize that religion is necessary for the prosperity of the nation. While they arrogate to themselves no authority in religious matters, thanks to the kindly feeling which animates them, vexed questions are amicably settled. To illustrate by a single example, far from enacting legis-

lation hostile to the Church, disputes involving ecclesiastical property are decided by the civil courts in conformity with her recognized laws.

"If the Church has the right of protection because she is the truth, her progress requires only liberty worthy of the name. This we have fully and completely. We sincerely hope the Church of France may soon enjoy the same advantage." [1]

Cardinal Richard expressed his profound gratitude in a reply lamenting the ordeal through which the Church was then passing in France, and expressing his reliance upon God for a happy issue from her afflictions.

The elements in control of the French government at that time were bent upon the execution of their program by their own methods, and the wishes of American Catholics were of no more avail than the wishes of those in Europe. Gibbons, in a public statement,[2] called attention forcibly to some of the excesses which were being committed. He was particularly disturbed because, as he declared, hatred of religion rather than love of the republic actuated the French anti-clerical leaders. He said:

"In France the Jacobin party is not dead. Its spirit is as living today as it was in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Its adherents hate God; they hate Christ; they hate His religion as much as their fathers hated them."

He quoted one of the French cabinet ministers as having said in an address to teachers:

"The time has come to root up from the minds of French children the ancient faith, which has served its

[1] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.
[2] Baltimore *Sun*, December 14, 1906.

purpose, and replace it with the light of free thought. It is time to get rid of the Christian idea. We have hunted Jesus Christ out of the army, the navy, the schools, the hospitals, the asylums for the insane and orphans, and the law courts, and now we must hunt Him out of the State altogether."

"What," asked the Cardinal, "would we Americans say if a Cabinet officer were to propose this as the great aim of his administration?"

Gibbons was at that particular juncture a close observer of the manner in which the property rights of the Catholic Church were being readjusted in the Philippines and the other islands recently separated from the rule of Spain. He pointed out in his statement the contrast between the attitude of the French government at that time toward ecclesiastical rights and that of the courts of the United States, in which the legal claims of the Church were fully respected, and a settlement was being effected to the satisfaction of all.

The vigorous declaration of Gibbons soon became circulated in France, where Premier Clémenceau felt its influence to such an extent that he took occasion to deny that a member of the cabinet had delivered the statement attributed to him "as minister," although failing to deny that the statement had been made. Gibbons promptly cited the London *Saturday Review* [3] as his authority, and saw no occasion to modify anything which he had said. His declarations were the signal for many public protests in this country against the violent methods by which the French government of that period carried out its plans for the separation of Church and State.

[3] *Review*, August 18 and 25, 1906.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CIVIC HONORS AT HIS JUBILEE

No American of his time received so many spontaneous tributes of public honor as Gibbons; and it remained for him at the age of seventy-seven years to receive one of these which had no precedent. It was on the occasion of his silver jubilee as Cardinal, and his golden jubilee as priest. He had reached the time of life when he had long since been inclined to deprecate the paying of personal honors to himself, and, indeed, he had interposed an absolute veto upon several proposals of that kind; but when he learned what was contemplated by those who prepared to mark the greatest of all his jubilees in 1911 his objections were silenced, for, keen student of the history of his country that he was, he knew that no American churchman, perhaps no American even in public life, had ever been made the object of such a testimonial as was to be given to him.

It was decided to divide the honors into two parts, for did not Gibbons have a dual character now in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen? Was he not, by the acknowledgment of all, the foremost churchman who stood among them, and was he not also the foremost citizen outside of those holding the highest executive office? He had exhibited in his own person, as no other man had done, the fact that the two rôles supplemented each other

and blended harmoniously in one. Now that his career had covered a period which spread out in a long perspective and was beginning to show at last the real proportions of the man, it was felt that while his jubilee was ecclesiastical, his work had been both ecclesiastical and civic.

The record of those years so far as their fruits related solely to the Church was wonderful enough, and the celebration would have recalled a great story of battle and victory if it had been confined to that aspect of Gibbons alone; but the story of the half century was one that went far outside even the broad reach of the Catholic Church. It was of struggles, sacrifices and great and lasting benefits for men everywhere and especially for men in the country for whose welfare Gibbons had been second to none in solicitude and effective help.

So it was determined by common and even impulsive assent, as it were, that there should be two celebrations, one in honor of Gibbons the churchman, one in honor of Gibbons the citizen. Men of importance throughout the country whose preoccupations in other directions might have been expected to preclude them from taking any particular notice of the plans suddenly developed a vivid interest in them and a desire to share in what was to be done. The thought, the feeling, the desire swept throughout the country. Magazines and newspapers began to spread before their readers at length accounts of what those years of Gibbons had meant to the world. Committees were formed; a bustle of preparations, after the American fashion on such occasions, was begun.

The civic celebration was held first. Its scene was the

greatest public hall in Baltimore,[1] one of those built for national political conventions and other events of high importance. In that great auditorium 20,000 persons assembled on June 6, 1911, and thousands more waited outside, inspired by the same desire to show homage to the Cardinal such as had been shown to no American churchman before.

It was not the size of the multitude which was the gauge of the real meaning of the demonstration. Mr. Taft, President of the United States, escorted Gibbons—a pale, red-robed figure—into the hall for the honors that were to be heaped upon him. Surrounding them as they sat upon the platform were the Vice-President, Mr. Sherman; the only living ex-President, Mr. Roosevelt; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. White; the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Clark; the ex-Speaker, Mr. Cannon; the British Ambassador, Mr. Bryce; the Governor of Maryland, Mr. Crothers; the Mayor of Baltimore, Mr. Preston; the United States Senators from Maryland, Messrs. Rayner and Smith; the members of the House of Representatives from the Cardinal's State, and a large number of the most prominent figures in both houses of Congress, as well as leading men of the State and city, without regard to religious belief. Never had such an assemblage met for a purpose of that kind; never had such a one met on any occasion, except at the inauguration of a President of the United States, where official duty rather than individual free will impelled attendance.

No one could scan the representation of the nation's

[1] The Fifth Regiment Armory.

leaders, bound by a common desire to express the nation's thanks to the object of such great attentions, without believing that Gibbons was "first in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen." His place was apart from the political broils of that moment or any other; both political parties and all elements of those parties were represented in the official group that was present. No thoughts of temporary circumstance were in the minds of those men in honoring one who stood for the great permanent virtues which all Americans admire and which they like to believe are characteristic of the best that is in them.

The evidence was overwhelming that Gibbons had become a type for the whole people. That he was a Catholic did not matter now; even that he was a Cardinal mattered not; for he was the greatest single force that had broken down the barrier of religious intolerance in America, and it seemed overthrown forever as an effective force. The Civil War had brought political union and Gibbons had brought religious fraternity. He was the Lincoln of a new brotherhood.

As the time of the jubilee drew near, this unique tribute had been suggested, and its details worked out in large part by Oliver P. Baldwin, managing editor of the Baltimore *Sun*, a newspaper whose columns had reflected during that pregnant half century the labors and aspirations of the Cardinal's life. The preparations were made by committees headed by Governor Crothers, a Methodist, and Mayor Preston, the superintendent of an Episcopal Sunday school. The committees included a number of Catholics, but a majority of their membership was composed of non-Catholics. Bishop Murray, of the Episco-

pal diocese of Maryland, was one of the most active in the work of organization. The whole aspect of the tribute was non-sectarian from beginning to end. For the most part the higher officials who assembled to speak for the whole country in recognizing the eminent services of Gibbons were also non-Catholics.

Governor Crothers, as was fitting in the Cardinal's State, presided and spoke of the celebration as truly representative of Maryland, in which religious freedom had been set up for the first time in the Western World. He continued:

"It is a gathering embracing all religious denominations, without distinction or exception, assembled to do honor to a great standard-bearer of religion, who represents the highest purposes of Church, State and society. While we have assembled to honor, as with one heart, a distinguished ecclesiastic, an incomparable citizen and a great and good man, the occasion is, in my mind, still more significant as a spontaneous union of men and women, holding every religious and political opinion, to tender the token of their esteem and affection to the head, in America, of a great Church, which has now endured almost two thousand years, and whose influence is as wide as civilization itself.

"We salute you, Cardinal Gibbons, as a torch-bearer in our midst of religion, justice and patriotism. We acknowledge and celebrate before the country and the world your lofty devotion to religious faith and purposes, your unfailing and ceaseless activities in behalf of this State and Union and of all their spiritual and material interests, your encouragement and help in all good aspirations, your wise and beneficent counsels in times of difficulty

[3] Full reports of these addresses were published in a memorial volume of the celebration (Baltimore, 1911.)

and doubt, your elevating influence upon all the movements and concerns of this your own native land. The State of Maryland tenders you its warmest and deepest felicitations and most earnestly wishes you many more years of life and happiness."

No one there knew more of what the Cardinal had done for his country than President Taft. As civil governor of the Philippines and afterwards as Secretary of War having jurisdiction over those islands, he had been an observer at close range of the immense practical service which Gibbons had performed in readjusting their population to the new conditions. He had leaned upon the Cardinal's guidance and help in trying moments when the outlook for so radical a transformation in the distant archipelago had seemed dark indeed. Now, with every problem solved, peace restored in the insular possessions, and prosperity beginning to blossom upon fields scarred recently by war, he spoke from a full heart when he said of Gibbons:

"We are here to recognize and honor in him his high virtues as a patriotic member of our political community and one who through his long and useful life has spared no efforts in the cause of good citizenship and the uplifting of his fellow-men.

"As American citizens we are proud that his prominence in the Church brought him twenty-five years ago the rank of Cardinal. The rarity with which this rank is conferred in his Church upon Bishops and priests so far from Rome is an indication of the position which he had won among his fellow-churchmen. But what we are especially delighted to see confirmed in him and his life is the entire consistency which he has demonstrated between

earnest and single-minded patriotism and love of country on the one hand and sincere devotion to his Church on the other.

"One of the tenets of his Church is respect for constituted authority, and always have we found him on the side of law and order, always in favor of peace and good will to all men, always in favor of religious tolerance, and always strong in the conviction that complete freedom in the matter of religion is the best condition under which churches may thrive. With pardonable pride he points to the fact that Maryland under Catholic control was among the first to give complete religious toleration.

"Nothing could more clearly show the character of the man whose jubilee we celebrate than the living testimonial that this assembly is to his value as a neighbor in the community of Baltimore.

"In spite of the burden and responsibilities of his high position in the Church, he has taken part in many great movements for the betterment of mankind and has shown himself not only a good Catholic in the Church sense, but he has been broadly catholic in the secular sense of that word, so that the affection felt for him by his co-religionists has spread to all denominations and to all the people, who are quick to perceive a disinterested friend.

"That he may long continue active in his present high position, that he may long continue in secular movements to take the prominent place he has always had in works of usefulness is the fervent prayer of Catholic and Protestant, of Jew and Christian."

Roosevelt, like Taft, had had recourse to the Cardinal's support and advice in times of stress and had come to realize his real measure as a benevolent power in the nation. No one of those who sat with the ex-President

and who heard him declare in his speech "I am honored—we are all honored—that the opportunity has come today to pay a tribute to what is highest and best in American citizenship, when we meet to celebrate this occasion" could doubt that he was speaking the deliberate judgment of years, for he had gratefully expressed the same views before. He said:

"Not only is this gathering characteristic of Maryland, but it is characteristic of our great Union, it is characteristic of America, because here in this republic, with all of our faults and shortcomings—and we have plenty of them—it is nevertheless true that we have come nearer than any other nation to solving the difficult problem of combining complete religious liberty and toleration with a devoutly religious feeling in the people as a whole.

"And we meet this afternoon to do honor in the name of all the American people, in the name of the American nation, to you, because while the American people may differ among themselves on questions of dogma, they are a unit in recognizing what counts in civic affairs for so much more than dogma—conduct, in the churchman as in the statesman.

"Friends, we read now and then prophecies of woe about the churches in the future, complaints as to congregations growing smaller, complaints as to lack of belief among the congregations. There will be no trouble about the future of any American church if that church makes as its cardinal principle the rendering of service to the people.

"No church in the United States will ever have to defend itself as long as those standing highest in that church, as well as those under them, serve the people, devote their lives to the service of the men and women round about them, as you, Cardinal Gibbons, have de-

voted your life to the service of your fellow-countrymen and countrywomen. What we care for, what we Americans wish to see in the church, is service; what we wish to judge the man by is his conduct and character.

"If the church renders good service and if the man rings true when we apply the touchstone of principle to his conduct and his character, then the American people will be well content with both church and man. And, my fellow-countrymen, in spite of all the little things that divide us, think how blessed we are because we are united on an occasion like this without regard to past history and antecedents, without regard to differences of religious or political belief, to honor a good man, who in and through his church and as a citizen of this country has lived the life that a good man should live.

"It was my good fortune the other day to attend a meeting composed chiefly of Protestant preachers, where I was introduced by a Catholic priest and where we were led in prayer by a Jewish rabbi, and now we come together, Catholic and Protestant, as the President has said, to render honor to a man who is our fellow-citizen and in whom we all claim a certain proprietary right. And, friends, religious intolerance and bitterness are bad enough in any country, but they are inexcusable in ours.

"Our republic, mighty in its youth, destined to endure for ages, will see many Presidents during those ages, and it will see Presidents who are Catholics as well as Presidents who are Protestants; Presidents who are Jews as well as Presidents who are Gentiles.

"The Cardinal throughout his life has devoted himself to the service of the American people. He has endeavored to work and he has worked steadily in the uplifting of the lowly; he has worked steadily to bring nearer the day when we should approximate better to the rule of justice and fair dealing as between man and man. His voice has ever been raised on behalf of the weak and the

downtrodden, his hand ever stretched out toward those who may have slept, toward all those who are in suffering, who have suffered loss or were suffering pain. He has fought for the rights of the lowly, he has done all that he might to bring nearer the day when there should be a more complete reign of justice in this land, and he has shown by his life his realization of the truth that justice can come only through law and order; that disorder and lawlessness are the negation of justice and in the end deal most severely against the poor and the lowly.

"He has set an example to all of us in public and private life, both by that for which he has striven and the way in which he has striven to achieve it. He has striven for justice, he has striven for fair dealing and he has striven for it in the spirit of truth, in the spirit that has no relation to lawlessness or disorder, and at the same time with the fullest recognition that law and order, essential though they are, are primarily essential because on them as a foundation, and only on them as a foundation, is it possible to build the great temple of justice and generous fair dealing as between man and man. I am honored—we are all honored—that the opportunity has come today to pay a tribute to what is highest and best in American citizenship, when we meet to celebrate this occasion, Cardinal Gibbons."

Following the addresses of the President and the ex-President, speaking for the executive department of the government, present and past, words which many of their predecessors, had they been alive, would have been glad to echo, congratulations were presented to the Cardinal by Vice-President Sherman. Elihu Root, Senator from New York, eulogized Gibbons in one of his brilliant speeches as "the champion of ideals," saying:

"It is because Cardinal Gibbons has illustrated in his life, in his conduct, in his arduous labors, in his self-devotion to all good causes, all that we would like to have our children admire and follow, all that we love to believe our country possesses, that America, through us, with sincerity and ardor, honors him today. And it is because he has been the champion of ideals, because he is a man not only of works but of faith, that we who differ from him in dogma, who do not belong to his Church, hold him as in his proper person illustrating the true union of service to State and service to God, the true union which makes the functional and ceremonial union of Church and State unnecessary, the union in the heart of man of devotion to country and devotion to God.

"He is both a great prelate and a great citizen, and under his guidance his Church, his people and his followers have always stood, and now stand, a bulwark against atheism and anarchy, against the tearing down of those principles of morality and of government upon which the opportunities of our country depend."

Speaker Clark presented greetings from the House of Representatives, saying:

"Cardinal Gibbons stands here today honored by the entire American people, without respect to politics or religion or geographical lines. Among the men that have met here to do him honor, I live farther from this city than any other man here except the Ambassador from Great Britain; and the Cardinal's words are quoted as often, his influence is as great, the affection for him is as strong, west of the great river as it is in the city of Baltimore."

There was also a voice, that of ex-Speaker Cannon, raised in the name of those who were not identified with

any church, and who honored the Cardinal none the less for simple manhood than for great accomplishments. Mr. Cannon said:

"In the United States no man lives who has led in doing more to bring men together under the influence of a broad catholic spirit in religion, in politics, than yourself. As a member of no church organization, one of the outsiders, so far as church membership is concerned, I tender to you my thanks for the great work that you have led in doing and for the great work that is being done, not only in the great republic, but in all the world, by those who live under and teach under, with a broad catholic spirit, the precepts of the Master."

Ambassador Bryce was one of those most amazed by the extraordinary grouping of official persons to share in honors in an English-speaking country to a Catholic prelate. The author of "The Holy Roman Empire" and "The American Commonwealth" could not fail to reflect the historical background of his thoughts upon such an occasion. In his own country he knew that such a gathering was impossible. It was as if at a great public meeting in London in honor of Manning, the Prime Minister and the former Prime Ministers living, the Lord Chancellor, the leaders in the House of Lords and the House of Commons and the representation in both bodies from the city of London as well as the municipal officials of London had come together. Not only was such a gathering impossible in honor of any of England's Cardinals, Mr. Bryce knew, but it could not be drawn together to honor a churchman of any faith in any European country. Of his deep knowledge of America, he also knew

that it would have been impossible in honor of any other churchman whom this country had produced. Mr. Bryce said in his speech:

"Is it not a beautiful sight when we think of the ages of the past in which those of us who do not belong to the Church which his Eminence represents, and those of us who do belong to that Church, were divided by bitter antagonisms and mutual suspicions? Is it not a blessed thing that today we can all meet without distinction of religious faith to pay honor to one who illustrates the fundamental principles of Christianity by his life as well as by his teachings?

"There are diversities of governments but the same spirit, and in his Eminence and in his life there is drawn out a beautiful example of those virtues which belong to our common Christianity and which we can all honor alike.

"And I may say to you, citizens of the United States, that if there is anything which we in Europe specially honor and admire in the great republic which belongs to you, it is this—that you have carried out consistently from the first that admirable principle with which you started, of making no distinction of religion and by teaching all men that their Christianity is a part of common citizenship. That is a great lesson which has been taught to the world by America and I do not think it could be taught in a more impressive form than it is taught when all religious faiths may gather to honor an illustrious prelate of the Catholic Church."

Mayor Preston spoke of the "exalted character and useful life" of Gibbons, saying:

"In the name of our city and of this vast assemblage of distinguished guests and home people I respectfully

felicitate him upon this recognition by his fellow-citizens of his life and labors."

Notwithstanding the high station of the official group around him, such had been the life of Gibbons that, in a considerable degree, he was amid personal friends and familiar associates. Perhaps this tended to lessen the strain which any man might have felt when the time came to respond to the eulogies of which he had been the object. No one, however great his experience and habit of poise on public occasions, could have failed to be swept by thoughts of the meaning of such an event to him. An extreme paleness of the countenance and a slight wavering of the voice were the only outward evidences which he gave of the tension that he must have felt.

Besides, as he rose to speak and the great hall resounded with acclamations which in ruder ages might have been bestowed upon a military hero returning from the conquest of an empire, he beheld in the scene around him justification of his life-long faith in the people among whom his lot had been cast. He whose trust in the mission of the nation had been shown in the anguish of war, the dark hours of labor riots, the scandals of polluted politics and the flames of prejudice concerning religion could not but feel the vindication of the great aims which had inspired his career.

He spoke simply as he always did upon occasions personal in their nature, but he spoke thoughts that had gripped him throughout the long years and never more strongly than at that moment; testifying to his faith in

his country, to the essentially religious nature of the American people, to his eminent satisfaction with the results of the conditions under which Church and State existed in America, to his unfailing confidence in the perpetuity of the political institutions which he had done so much to uphold. His address was as follows:

"I am filled with emotions of gratitude by this extraordinary manifestation on the part of my fellow-citizens, without distinction of race or religion or condition of life, and I am overwhelmed with confusion by the unmerited encomiums which have been pronounced by the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the former President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the former Speaker, Senator Root, the Ambassador of Great Britain, the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore.

"Gentlemen, you have portrayed your subject not, I fear, as he is, but as he should be. But your portrait is so attractive to me that it shall be my endeavor to resemble it more and more every day of the few years that remain to me. One merit only can I truly claim regarding my civic life, and that is, an ardent love for my native country and her political institutions. Ever since I entered the sacred ministry my aim has been to make those over whom I exerted any influence not only more upright Christians, but also more loyal citizens; for the most faithful Christian makes the best citizen.

"I consider the Republic of the United States one of the most precious heirlooms ever bestowed on mankind down the ages, and that it is the duty and should be the delight of every citizen to strengthen and perpetuate our Government by the observance of its laws and by the integrity of his private life. 'Righteousness,' says the

Book of Proverbs, 'exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to the people.'

"If our Government is destined to be enduring it must rest on the eternal principles of justice, truth and righteousness, and these principles must have for their sanction the recognition of a Supreme Being who created all things by His power, who governs them by His wisdom and whose superintending Providence watches over the affairs of nations and of men.

"When the framers of our immortal Constitution were in session, Benjamin Franklin complained to his colleagues of the small progress they had made after several weeks of deliberation. He used these memorable words: 'We have spent many days in fruitless discussion. We have been groping in the dark because we have not sought light from the Father of Light to illumine our understanding. I have lived,' he continued, 'for many years, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I have that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow can not fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid and cooperation? We are told in the same sacred writings that unless the Lord build the house, he laboreth in vain who buildeth it.'

"Thank God, the words of Franklin did not fall on barren soil. They have borne fruit. Our Government from its dawn to the present time has been guided by Christian ideals. It has recognized the existence of a superintending Providence. This is evident from the fact that our presidents, from George Washington to William Howard Taft, have almost invariably invoked the aid of our heavenly Father in their inaugural proclamations. Both Houses of Congress are opened with prayer. The Christian Sabbath is recognized and observed throughout the land. The President of the United States issues an annual proclamation, inviting his fellow-

citizens to assemble in their respective houses of worship and thank the Almighty for the blessings vouchsafed to us as a nation.

"It is true, indeed, that there is no official union of Church and State in this country. But we must not infer from this that there is any antagonism between the civil and religious authorities. Far from it, Church and State move on parallel lines. They mutually assist one another. The State holds over the spiritual rulers the ægis of its protection without interfering with the sacred and God-given rights of conscience. And the Church on her part helps to enforce the civil laws by moral and religious sanctions.

"I fear that we do not fully realize and are not duly grateful for the anxious cares with which our Chief Magistrate and the heads of the co-ordinate branches of the Government are preoccupied in the discharge of their official duties. And these cares are the price which is paid for our domestic peace and comfort and the tranquillity of the commonwealth. When the traveler in mid-ocean is buffeted by the waves he feels a sense of security, because he knows that the captain and his officers are at the post of duty. So do we securely rest on our pillows because we are conscious that our great captain and his associates in office are diligently steering the ship of state.

"It is the duty of us all, churchman and layman, to hold up the hands of our President, as Aaron and Hur stayed up the hands of Moses. Let us remember that our Chief Executive and all subordinate magistrates are the accredited agents and ministers of God and are clothed with Divine authority and therefore it is our duty and should be our delight to aid them by every means in our power in guiding and controlling the destiny of our glorious republic."

Not only in the remotest parts of the United States, but throughout the world, this gathering was a subject of extended comment; and, after all, it seemed in the case of Gibbons a matter of course. The extraordinary tribute which he had received was merely a definite form of expression of thoughts which had existed in the minds of men for many years and which continued to exist in them. Of the multitude of laudations in the press, some of those keyed in the strongest note of expression were from non-Catholic sources. So far as the personality of Gibbons was concerned the dividing line had disappeared. His mission was that of a man to men, and appreciation of its bountiful fruits could not be circumscribed. He had reversed the dictum that republics are ungrateful.

No one sat upon the platform on that memorable occasion who was not astonished at the spectacle. No one was more surprised at it than Gibbons. In spite of his disinclination to accept public ceremonies in his honor, he remarked after the last words had been said that the day was one of the happiest of his life, and added:

"I have been present at many great ecclesiastical and civic ceremonies where there were outpourings of clergy and laymen, but never have I seen a more august body of men together. Every branch of this great government of ours was represented. There was the executive, represented by my esteemed friend President Taft; the legislative, represented by many senators and representatives; and the judicial, by Chief Justice White. No greater body of men could have been assembled, and this day and its event will live always in my memory.

"I cannot express my feelings when I consider the num-

ber and character of the men who came here to pay their respects. I want to thank each man, woman and child who took the trouble to be present. For a humble citizen like myself, I think it is the greatest demonstration ever attempted."

In the quiet of his study, robed in the worn gray dressing gown which was a familiar object to his intimates who were accustomed to visit him there, he said, as he contemplated the many messages by cable, telegraph and mail which had poured in upon him:

"It seemed that the whole nation remembered me."

Not only was he remembered by the nation which he loved, but by men of prominence abroad who shared in the pleasure of the occasion. Six of the cable messages which he received were from Cardinals in Europe.

In the great hall itself it had seemed almost to have a savor of unreality that such an assemblage could be brought together to pay honor to any man. Most of the speeches, except of course that of the Cardinal himself, who could not have trusted himself to attempt impromptu expression on such an occasion, had the merit of being extemporaneous and therefore seemed to come straight from the hearts of those who uttered them. There was no vein of extravagance in them, such as men talking for a purpose apart from the object of the meeting might have introduced. Scanned closely, they were found to form an exceptionally accurate estimate of the object of their praise. Distinguished as were the speakers, most of them knew Gibbons well, in not a few cases intimately. What they uttered was, collectively, the deliberate opinion of nearly all those close enough to him to rate him

for what he was. They were estimates rather than eulogies and did not go further than a multitude of expressions in magazines and newspapers which appeared simultaneously, if as far.

While the majority of those who spoke were not of the Cardinal's religious faith, they were one with him in civic faith and in his view of a man's duty to men. His own address, couched in terms of humility which no one doubted, reinforced the general impression of himself. He spoke thoughts, simple enough in themselves, the exemplification of which in his long life had been the cause of all that was said of him by the chiefs of the nation.

There was no accounting for the tribute, except on the ground of his own personality. Mr. Baldwin, who conceived the idea of the meeting, had been indefatigable in obtaining acceptances to the invitations, but even his best efforts would have been unequal to assembling such a gathering had there not been a truly earnest desire on the part of the leaders of official life to recognize such services to the State as no churchman in America, except Gibbons, had ever given. Some of those who took leading parts did so at considerable sacrifice. Chief Justice White, who for many years had been a close friend of Gibbons, came all the way from his home in New Orleans in order to be present, though his age was advanced. None would have spoken more fervently than he of the Cardinal, had it not been for the custom which prevents the Chief Justice from delivering speeches on public occasions outside the circle of his judicial duties.

Neither Taft nor Roosevelt would have been willing to miss such a meeting, and, indeed, either of them would

have considered it a slight not to have been invited. They were not of the type to conceal the gratitude which they felt for the direct services to the nation which Gibbons had given during their terms in the Presidential office.

Nothing could be found in the nature of the event, apart from the personality of its chief participant, to draw forth such an overwhelming expression of official recognition. True, the silver jubilee of a Cardinal is rare. Most of the members of the Sacred College are near sixty years of age when they are appointed, especially those far removed from Rome, for they must attain, as a preliminary, records of exceptional accomplishment in the Church, tried and proved by the test of time. They would thus be beyond eighty years of age if they reached the silver jubilee of the Cardinalate. For the same reason, few Archbishops attain a service of twenty-five years as such, but Gibbons in 1911 had been Archbishop of Baltimore for a third of a century.

Considering that the event took place in America, the silver jubilee of a Cardinal in this country was, of course, a rarity, for there had been only one before Gibbons and he had served only ten years in the Sacred College. McCloskey, "retiring from the world," as Gibbons said of him in the sermon at his funeral, was only a name to the great majority of Americans outside his diocese. A beloved ecclesiastic and an excellent administrator, he had led no battle, won no triumph, suffered no reverse. Had he survived to bear his eminent title to the length of twenty-five years, there would have been an imposing Church celebration of that event, but no one, least of all McCloskey himself, would have thought of a national

civic celebration as appropriate in that connection.

But Gibbons had set a new type for churchmen in America, not only as to his own Church, but as to all forms of all faiths. He had made a place for himself that no other had filled or attempted to fill, for the reason that it had seemed unattainable. No Catholic ecclesiastic had been so bold as to believe before Gibbons' time that he could be an acknowledged leader in the public life of the nation without drawing upon himself fierce hostility; the conception of how the balance of the two elements could be preserved with perfect propriety was possible to few men. To risk the misunderstanding that there was an attempted encroachment by the Church upon the State would have seemed fraught with untold danger. More particularly would this apply in the case of a Cardinal of dominant personality.

Yet, so far as his most intimate friends were able to detect, Gibbons had never thought of such a danger; certainly he was not one to shrink from any undertaking because of fear of being misunderstood. His natural bent was to take a deep interest in citizenship, and he could only have held aloof from participation in public affairs by a violent effort of the will. Besides, he valued his rights under the Constitution and laws as few men valued them, and he wished to exercise them fully. He did not claim any greater right than the humblest citizen, but that to him seemed enough. He was constantly deploring that so few men, comparatively, made proper use of their opportunities to give civic service, and he drew no line of creed as to this. Once he said that he would much prefer active participation by an individual

in public affairs, even if the individual were inclined at times to err in judgment, to the dulness of indifference. His creed was action in civic life as well as in religion.

Searching for a precedent, it would appear that those American churchmen who most nearly approached the public rôle which Gibbons filled were Archbishops Carroll and Hughes in the Catholic Church, and Henry Ward Beecher among Protestants. Carroll, the pathfinder, showed the way with sure and steady step to the Catholics of America when the Church numbered only about 25,000 souls in the whole country, owing to the disabilities imposed under English Colonial rule. The guidance of that small body was a far different undertaking from that of Gibbons. Carroll was second to none in the esteem in which he was held by the leaders of the young nation, but he was not as constant a participant in public affairs as Gibbons, and mingled less with public men. It remained for Gibbons to give effectiveness, when the United States was becoming the most populous of the great powers of the world, to the great ideas which Carroll conceived with clear vision in the darkness of the struggle that made the country independent.

Hughes [3] and Beecher [4] were eminently successful in preventing the marshaling of European influence against the preservation of the American union in the Civil War, but neither of them had exemplified the deep and intimate reach into the life of the country that Gibbons had. The model which Gibbons set was original and difficult even for others to imitate.

[3] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 473.
[4] Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher*, pp. 161–186.

CHAPTER XL

THE HIERARCHY'S PLAUDITS

Nothing could have been more characteristic of Gibbons than an incident that developed when the time of the ecclesiastical celebration of his jubilee in October, 1911, was drawing near. There had been no objection when the City Council of Baltimore had declared a municipal holiday in honor of the civic celebration in June. A few weeks before the time set for the ecclesiastical commemoration, a resolution for declaring a municipal holiday for that occasion also was presented in the Council. The resolution passed one branch of that body, and was about to be passed by the other branch, when objections by the Ministerial Union of Baltimore, a group of Protestant ministers who met for periodical discussions, were interposed.

The union adopted resolutions of protest which, however, were careful to set forth that they had no relation to a desire to withhold honor from Gibbons himself. The resolutions read:

"A great municipal reception was given to Cardinal Gibbons last June participated in by city officers and ministers of many denominations and various State and national representatives, making it a general tribute to a great citizen, and expressing the kindly and courteous feelings of Baltimore to him as a man;

"An ecclesiastical celebration of the same anniversaries is being planned for this October by his own church, a distinctly ecclesiastical observance as the proposed program indicates. On this occasion we Protestants can and do present our respectful congratulations, but in this celebration we cannot be expected to take part.

"It has been reported in the newspapers that the proposal is now before the City Council to set aside a day in this ecclesiastical program, namely, Monday, October 16, as a municipal holiday, closing all municipal offices and the public schools, in which the great majority are Protestants, in deference to this ecclesiastical celebration, forcing them tacitly to have a part in it.

"Therefore, *Resolved*, That without in the least lessening our honor and respect for Cardinal Gibbons as a man and as a citizen and as a brother churchman of signal ability and success in the duties of his high office, nevertheless we most earnestly and emphatically protest against the overzeal and unwisdom of some of his friends in the proposal to force a municipal holiday upon our city in deference to an ecclesiastical celebration.

"We regard such proposed action as an infringement upon our rights as Protestant citizens in this municipality.

"We regard such proposed action as a direct violation of a fundamental principle of our American government, with its complete separation of Church and State.

"We regard such proposed action as a most dangerous and unwarranted precedent, and therefore against it we must courteously but firmly record our emphatic protest."

At a meeting of the union, speeches were made in support of the resolutions in which, as in the resolutions themselves, there was no word of disrespect to the Cardinal. Gibbons saw an account of this meeting in a newspaper the following morning, and sent a hasty mes-

CARDINAL GIBBONS' STUDY

The portrait above the desk is that of St. Philip Neri. The oil lamp which the Cardinal preferred to use for reading had been replaced temporarily by an electric light when this view was taken.

sage summoning to his residence for consultation a friend with whom he was accustomed to confer at times upon public questions. When this friend arrived at his place of business that morning, he received the message, and, without giving a thought to his own numerous duties of the day, proceeded at once to the archiepiscopal residence.

He found the Cardinal in his study, attired in the familiar dressing gown. After a brief exchange of greetings, the Cardinal disclosed the object of his summons by saying:

"I have just been reading in the *Sun* of the meeting of ministers yesterday, at which objection was made to a municipal holiday in honor of my ecclesiastical jubilee. What do you think of their views?"

The friend was not prepared to answer so direct a question at once. He felt that no honor would be too great for the Cardinal, and therefore was somewhat shocked at the objections to the holiday. He replied:

"Your Eminence, I think it was at least in bad taste."

Gibbons replied at once:

"I think they are right."

He had evidently made up his mind firmly on the subject and merely wished to sound his friend, as he had done on former occasions. The Cardinal continued:

"Do you know Mr. Jung, who introduced the resolution in the City Council?"

The friend said that he did not know the councilman.

"Do you know any one who has influence with him?" was the next question.

In reply the Cardinal's visitor named one of the leading men of the city, identified with local politics, in a

better sort of way, who was credited with special influence in the ward which Jung represented. The Cardinal proceeded:

"Go to see him at once for me, and ask him to request Mr. Jung to call upon me at three o'clock."

The mission was promptly executed and at the hour named the city councilman presented himself at the Cardinal's residence. Gibbons had prepared for the interview. He thanked Jung for the kindly sentiments which had caused him to introduce the resolution, and requested earnestly that it be withdrawn at the meeting of the Council which was to take place later on that day. At the same time he handed to Jung a prepared statement in which he formally requested the withdrawal. In this statement the Cardinal gave three reasons for his course. They were:

First, a municipal holiday might not be acceptable to the parents of the thousands of children attending the schools, who would be released from discipline and spend the time in idleness.

Second, the business interests of the city might be interfered with.

Third, many persons of the laboring classes would be thrown out of employment and lose a day's wages.

From obvious causes he omitted to state the fundamental and all-compelling reason with him, which was that he wished to do nothing at any time which would offend the sensibilities of his Protestant fellow-citizens.

The Cardinal told Jung that he hoped that his action would meet with the approval of all the people of Baltimore, regardless of creed. He added that he could never

cease to express his gratitude to the city and State authorities for participating officially in the civic celebration in his honor in June, and that it was, in his opinion, neither necessary nor desirable that the City Council should give special recognition to the next celebration, which would be purely ecclesiastical.

Jung could do nothing but acquiesce in the Cardinal's views, and the resolution was withdrawn from the Council's consideration.

Gibbons went further. He sent for the minister who had made the principal speech to the Ministerial Union in opposition to the declaration of a municipal holiday and cordially commended him for the stand that had been taken, saying that the views of both of them upon the subject coincided fully. The minister was much impressed by the brotherly affection with which the Cardinal received him, and still more by the frank and emphatic views, paralleling his own, which the eminent prelate expressed.

Gibbons arranged a prelude, as he sometimes did in the case of important ecclesiastical celebrations, which took the form of the delivery of a message to all his fellow-countrymen, in advance of the event, on a subject which he considered important and necessary to present. At that time there was strong public agitation in favor of the constitutional amendment subsequently enacted, providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote, instead of by the legislatures of the States, and also for the initiative, referendum and recall of public officials. Gibbons had positive views upon these questions, because they involved a considerable change from

constitutional methods, in the upholding of which he saw the principal reliance for the safety of American institutions, and he felt that the occasion must not be allowed to pass without a word of warning to his fellow-citizens.

Preaching in the Baltimore Cathedral October 13, a week in advance of the celebration, he delivered his message to one of the greatest congregations ever assembled even in that edifice. As always when he preached there, non-Catholics composed perhaps half of the congregation, and long lines of people who were unable to find places within the building massed in the streets outside as the time for the service approached.

Gibbons began by referring to his coming jubilee, saying:

"When the subject of commemorating the golden jubilee of my ordination to the priesthood and the silver jubilee of my elevation to the Sacred College was under consideration, I expressed the desire and intention of celebrating the event with the least possible display. But you all know how my modest arrangements were dashed aside by the kind partiality of my friends and fellow-citizens of Baltimore and Maryland. Never, indeed, shall I forget, never shall I cease to be grateful for the unparalleled reception of June 6, which shall always be a red-letter day in the annals of our city—when the President and the leading members of the coordinate branches of the Government assembled in Armory Hall, with the Governor and Mayor, and City Council, and the prominent citizens of the city and State, to pay your Cardinal Archbishop an honor beyond his deserts.

"The pleasure of this demonstration was enhanced by the consideration that it was so cordial and spontaneous

and was conceived and undertaken without the slightest suggestion or expectation on my part.

"Besides that civic festivity, I shall be honored on the 15th of this month by a large concourse of my brethren of the Episcopate and clergy from various parts of the United States, Canada, Mexico and Africa, who will join with me in the religious celebration of the jubilee.

"It is very natural that on an occasion like the present I should indulge in some reminiscences. This is a privilege of the old, in which the young cannot share.

"All the priests that were ordained for this diocese with me, and before my time, have long since passed away, and all my Episcopal brethren with whom I began to labor after my consecration, forty-three years ago, have gone to their reward, with one solitary exception, and that exception is the venerable Bishop of Kansas City. Though I value the friendship of my junior colleagues, I feel a sense of loneliness in the absence of my old companions with whom I sat so often in council and with whom I labored so long in the vineyard of the Lord.

"It may be interesting as well as consoling to institute a comparison between the Church of 1861 and its present situation after half a century. In 1861 the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States numbered 48. The priests were 2,064. The number of churches with priests attached was 2,042, and the Catholic population was estimated at 1,860,000.

"The number of Archbishops and Bishops today in charge of Sees amounts to 96, twice as many as existed in 1861. The priests amount to 17,000, an increase of more than eight-fold. There are 13,500 churches, nearly a seven-fold increase. We have about 15,000,000 Church members, eight times as many as existed in the United States in 1861.

"But the progress of religion in our country is to be

estimated not only by the augmentation of the number of communicants but also by a more efficient coordination and discipline. The clergy, in 1861, were as detached squadrons compared to the compact and well-marshaled army of today.

"Half a century ago the prelates and clergy labored under many adverse circumstances. In widely extended parts of the country they had to minister to the faithful scattered over a vast expanse of territory, without organized parishes, often without churches wherein to worship, and without Catholic schools. They had but scant resources to sustain them. Frequently they had to contend with deep-rooted prejudices.

"Now, thank God, we have in most places parishes well organized. Churches have multiplied from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Parochial schools have become the rule instead of the exception in the large centres of population. A generous laity are usually able and always willing to aid our missionaries. An unfriendly feeling still exists in some quarters, as a result of long standing traditions and a biased education. But the mists of prejudice are gradually disappearing before the sunlight of truth.

"Let me address you, my junior brethren of this Episcopate and the clergy. Oh! you who are now in the full tide of physical and intellectual vigor, I congratulate you, for your lives are fallen in pleasant places. What a rich field is open to your apostolic zeal!

"You represent the highest authority in the world, the Lord of Hosts Himself. You go forth as the envoys not of an earthly potentate, but of the King of kings and Lord of lords. And if it is a great distinction for any American citizen to represent his country before the courts of Europe, how much greater is the honor you enjoy of representing the court of Heaven before the nations of the earth! 'For Christ,' says the Apostle, 'we are ambassa-

dors, God, as it were, exhorting by us.' How beautiful on the mountain are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace, of Him that showeth forth good; that preacheth salvation; that saith to Zion: 'My God shall reign.'

"Your mission is to an enlightened American people who are manly and generous, open to conviction and who will give you a patient hearing. The American race forms the highest type of a Christian nation when its natural endowments of truth, justice and indomitable energy are engrafted on the supernatural virtues of faith, hope and charity."

Gibbons proceeded to advise the junior clergy as to their conduct, exhorting them to shed luster upon the cause of religion and that "as citizens of the United States, you should take a prominent part in every measure that conduces to the progress of the commonwealth." Launching then into the general civic message which he wished to deliver, he said:

"At the present moment there are three political problems which are engaging the serious attention of our public men.

"It is proposed that United States Senators should be elected by popular vote instead of being chosen by the Legislatures, as is prescribed by the Constitution.

"It is proposed that the acts of our Legislatures before they have the force of law, should be submitted to the suffrage of the people, who would have the right of veto.

"It is proposed to recall or remove an unpopular judge before the expiration of his term of office.

"No one questions the ability, the sincerity and patriotism of the advocates of these changes in our organic laws. But I hope I may not be presumptuous in saying that, in

my opinion, the wisdom of the proposed amendments must be seriously questioned.

"The election of Senators by the votes of the people involves the destruction of a strong bulwark against dangerous popular encroachments. The reason given for this contemplated change is that many of our State Legislatures are charged with being venal, and that it is easier to corrupt the Legislature than the whole people.

"In reply I would say: If you cannot trust the members of the Legislature, how can you trust their constituents from whom they spring? If you cannot confide in our Legislatures you cannot confide in human government nor in human nature itself.

"If a few of our Legislatures have been found guilty of bribery, it is most unjust to involve all the others in their condemnation. I have sufficient confidence in the moral integrity of our Legislatures to be convinced that the great majority of them have never bent the knee to mammon.

"To give to the masses the right of annulling the acts of the Legislature is to substitute mob law for established rule.

"To recall a judge because his decisions do not meet with popular approval is an insult to the dignity, the independence and the self-respect of our judiciary. Far less menacing to the Commonwealth is an occasional corrupt or incompetent judge than one who would be the habitual slave of a capricious multitude and have his ear to the ground trying to ascertain the will of the populace.

"The Constitution of the United States is the palladium of our liberties and a landmark in our march of progress. That instrument has been framed by the anxious cares and enlightened zeal of the fathers of the republic. Its wisdom has been tested and successfully proved after a trial of a century and a quarter.

"It has weathered the storms of the century which is

passed and it should be trusted for the centuries to come. What has been good enough for our fathers ought to be good enough for us. Every change, either in the political or religious world, is not a reformation. 'Better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of.'

"Every man that runs about waving a new panacea for social evils is not to be worshiped as a political and moral reformer. We all remember the story of 'Aladdin or the wonderful lamp.' Better to trust to the old lamp of the fathers which has guided the steps of the American people for generations than to confide in every *ignis fatuus* that may lead us into dangerous pitfalls. Do not disturb the political landmarks of our republic."

Public interest in Gibbons was keyed up by the approach of the ecclesiastical celebration, and his words were telegraphed throughout the country. While they were not sufficient to stay the movement for the constitutional change as to the election of Senators, they added a weighty influence to other forces which were being exerted against the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and which prevented those innovations from obtaining more than a scant foothold in a few of the States.

A week later the devoted co-worker of Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, in an address at a banquet of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee in Council Bluffs, Iowa, echoed his views and this second deliverance served further to concentrate attention upon the subject. With a burst of that fire which had thrilled many great gatherings, Ireland exclaimed:

"Democracy, yes; mobocracy, never! And toward mobocracy we are now bidden to wend our way. The

shibboleths of the clamor—the initiative, referendum, recall—put into general practice, as the evangelists of the new social gospel would fain have them, are nothing more nor less than the madness of Democracy. The highest and purest moral virtues run into extremes—become evil —so with Democracy.

"May we not, it is asked, trust the people? Yes, we trust the people as the framers of our Constitution trusted them, as the people usually trust themselves when interests other than political are at stake, remitting those interests to experts. We trust the people when they treat of matters with which they are conversant.

"In the long run American public opinion will be sure to right itself; the misfortune is, as we know too well, the people may suffer from a temporary excitement. From the consequences of such excitement we should strive to save the republic."

A few days before the celebration in Baltimore began a silver service of 264 pieces, one of the handsomest and most costly gifts of the kind which could be presented to any one, was bestowed upon Gibbons in the City Hall as an additional mark of the esteem in which he was held at home. It had been purchased by means of voluntary public subscriptions. The ceremony of presentation took place on Saturday, October 7, and was presided over by Mayor Preston. Gibbons was no stranger to the large reception room in which it took place, for he had been welcomed there by not a few of Mayor Preston's predecessors. This time he found himself in the midst of a gathering including the members of the City Council and the heads of the municipal departments and boards. Governor Crothers also joined the company.

The mayor, in an address, hailed the Cardinal in his dual capacity which all recognized, saying:

"On June 6, of the present year, in the Fifth Regiment Armory of our city, your Eminence was the center of one of the most remarkable gatherings that has ever assembled in this or any other city. The occasion was the fiftieth anniversary of your elevation to the priesthood and the twenty-fifth anniversary of your elevation to the Cardinalate in the great Church of which you have been and are such a distinguished member.

"Renowned as you are as priest and prince of the great Roman Catholic Church for your many years of zealous, faithful and notable services in the cause of religion, you are no less distinguished as a man and a citizen of this great republic for your life of service to mankind and to the cause of order, morality and good government.

"The testimonial which the committee has selected is the silver service which is before you, and which, as chairman of that committee, it is my duty to present to you on its behalf and on behalf of the much greater body of your friends who bear a part in this testimonial. Together with that, I am also commissioned to present to you a bound volume recording the demonstration of June 6, the public meeting and the notable speeches that were there delivered and other events connected with the celebration of your golden jubilee as a priest and the twenty-fifth anniversary of your service as a Cardinal."

The mayor's statement that the civic celebration in June had been marked by the attendance of "one of the most remarkable gatherings that has ever assembled in this or in any other city" was amplified by Governor Crothers, who said that it had no precedent anywhere.

The Cardinal, in the presence of this new proof of the

affection of his friends and neighbors, expressed thanks to the mayor, the members of the City Council, and the others who were present; and, in addition, he named a number of the chairmen of the committees who had been foremost in arranging the festivities of the year in his honor. The first of those whom he mentioned was John Gardner Murray, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Maryland, of whom he said: "I hope it will not be invidious to mention in a particular manner the Rt. Rev. Bishop Murray, chairman of the committee on reception." The Cardinal promised that the silver service would be "preserved in the archiepiscopal household for generations to come," adding:

"It will serve as a souvenir to those who come after us of the close ties of friendship that bound together myself, my fellow-citizens and friends of Baltimore and Maryland, and it will be an incentive to my successors to cultivate the same happy fraternal relations."

A celebration in honor of Gibbons without some form of participation by the Catholic University would have seemed to him like a celebration in honor of a part of himself, but not the whole. This time the participation took a singularly happy turn. The trustees of the university decided to erect a new hall of handsome proportions, one of the massive group that had sprung up on the ample acres of the university seat, as it seemed, out of mists of doubt and difficulty and struggle, and called it Cardinal Gibbons Memorial Hall. They asked the Cardinal to lay the cornerstone at his jubilee.

Nothing could have made a stronger appeal to him

than this. He joined in the plan with a zest which the enthusiasm of youth could not have exceeded, and every step that was taken to prepare for the erection of the hall was a new joy to him. It was, of course, no easy task to raise the $250,000 needed for this new project for an institution whose rapid growth had made the drawing upon every source of prospective revenue an incessant and never satisfied need; but subscriptions began to flow in when the plan became known, and the financing of the building became easier.

Gibbons laid the cornerstone on Friday, October 12, in the presence of many prelates, and an assemblage of Catholic scholarship seldom equaled in America. Archbishop Farley, the vice-president of the trustees, delivered the principal address and spoke of Gibbons as the "honor and glory of the Church in America," the "most beloved man" in that Church. He said that the hour and the man for the accomplishment of the long-cherished university project had been found at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, whence Gibbons, the presiding officer and dominating figure of that conclave, had gone forth commissioned by the prelates to take up the work, relying upon faith in things unseen, rather than upon any practical prospect of making a start at that time. Archbishop Farley reviewed the steps that had been taken in organizing the university and continued:

"While the responsibility in general for the working of the institution rests on the board of trustees, the central pivot in which every movement of the great and growing mechanism of the institution turned was the chairman of the board, the chancellor of the university.

In times of stress all learned to turn to him; to him everyone looked for inspiration in each new departure in the career of the institution, and in every change and circumstance he was found equal to the demand.

"But while Cardinal Gibbons thus rendered invaluable service from the beginning in every juncture, never in its history was his indomitable courage, the most needed element in the rise of every vast undertaking, so notably shown as in the dark days of its greatest trial. For trials it has had in common with all great things begun for God and the good of religion. For then even those who loved the university with the love of a strong man's soul lost heart and hope, felt in all sincerity that the work had been premature and that this trial was the extremest test under which it must go down, to await other times and other men in generations to come. And these did not even hesitate to advise that the enterprise be abandoned.

"Then it was that he whom we delight to honor by these walls proved the bulwark of the people. 'Never,' said he, 'while I have power to wield a pen in appeal or lift a voice in pleading, shall this work of religion stop. God wills it; the work must go on.'

"And he triumphed, aye, almost alone. Yes, in that fruitful time he might be said to have trod the winepress alone. And today is laid upon his venerable brow the crown which is the fruit of this 'courage of the cross.'

"If today the Catholic University stands forth before the world a thing of beauty and of fairest promise, fairer and more prosperous than at any time in her history, no longer a source of painful anxiety, not only for its future but for its very existence, it is, under God, wholly due to the indomitable labor of his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons.

"It is said, 'Put not your trust in princes.' In this our Prince of the Church we have trusted, and we have not been confounded. His princedom is not of this world.

He worked and prayed and hoped in the Lord and has not been disappointed.

"These things, too, he has done for the university not only while he was laboring in his own diocese, but while his influence was being cast in favor of every good and patriotic cause throughout the length and breadth of the land. And with it all he seems to grow, like the eagle. The winter of discontent seems never to have dawned for him, but rather does he seem to enjoy a perpetual Indian summer. May it be long so."

In the brilliancy of that autumn day Gibbons' mind wandered back to the physical gloom that had enshrouded the gathering which had assembled at the laying of the first cornerstone of the university. Speaking a few words of hopefulness before pronouncing the benediction, he said:

"I cannot fail to contrast that other day of more than twenty years ago, when the first cornerstone of this university was laid, with the bright sunshine that now confronts us. Rain fell in torrents that day. Now the skies are cloudless and we are deluged with sunshine. It suggests to me the words of Holy Scripture which tell us that they who sow in tears shall reap in joy."

The Cardinal congratulated the university on its success and prosperity and said:

"I earnestly hope that before the winter's snows fall the central tower of the building will be completed and we will wait upon Providence to enable us to finish the eastern wing. I thank the past benefactors of the university who have contributed toward this building and hope that you and your friends will enable us soon to complete the other wing."

Such a concourse of the Catholic Hierarchy as trod the aisles of the Baltimore Cathedral on the following Sunday, the day of the main religious celebration of the jubilee, had never before assembled—could not before have been assembled—to honor any man in America. There were ten Archbishops, including the Papal Delegate, Mgr. Falconio, and forty-seven Bishops, many monsignori, abbots, the faculties of the Catholic University and St. Mary's Seminary, priests and students. Some of them came from remote regions of the country. Ireland, of St. Paul, was there, of course. His tall form, upon which storms of controversy had beaten almost unceasingly for years, now seemed bent, his hair somewhat silvered, but ardent affection for his leader still inspired him as before. There were Farley, about to be made a Cardinal, and, with O'Connell, of Boston, to be the first American princes of the Church elevated in twenty-five years, during which time Gibbons alone held that distinction; Glennon, of St. Louis, gifted as an orator; Blenk, of New Orleans, the city which, next to Baltimore, claimed Gibbons as its own, and which only less than Baltimore joined in spirit in the celebration; Prendergast, of Philadelphia; Quigley, of Chicago, and Moeller, of Cincinnati. Archbishop Bruchesi came from Montreal to convey the felicitations of Canadian Catholics.

As Gibbons entered the Cathedral at the end of the long procession, the choir burst forth in a choral march composed for the occasion whose tones proclaimed:

> "Hero! Thus do men acclaim him
> Though he wields no warrior's sword."

The splendid services which followed were crowned with the approbation of Pius X, from whom the following letter was read: [1]

"To our beloved son, James Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Mary in Trastevere, Archbishop of Baltimore, Pius PP. X. Health and Apostolic benediction.

"Beloved Son—We have heard with gladness that all the Bishops and the clergy of the United States, also many distinguished men in every walk of life, are about to celebrate your twofold jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of your ordination to the priesthood and the twenty-fifth anniversary of your entry into the College of Cardinals. Such universal joy at the forthcoming celebration of both events proves to us the high esteem and the great veneration in which you are held by all, not alone because of your exalted office, but also because of your many gifts of mind and character well known to us, not to speak of the remarkable zeal that you display for the glory of the Most High and the welfare of souls.

"The esteem and praise bestowed on the person of the Bishop not only redound, as all know, to the honor and splendor of his own church, but also serve to adorn the universal Church of Christ. No one, therefore, has greater reason than we, the chief pastor of the Catholic religion, for deeply rejoicing at these festivities that give us an excellent occasion of manifesting our particular affection for you.

"With our whole heart we congratulate you and we pray God that He may richly reward the abundant merits of your piety. May He bestow upon you for many years to come His most abundant graces and draw ever more closely to you the hearts of your own devoted and loving flock.

[1] Archives of the Baltimore Cathedral.

"As an evidence of the special love we bear you and a harbinger of eternal happiness we add to our good wishes the Apostolic benediction. Very lovingly do we grant it to yourself, your clergy and the people confided to your care, likewise to all who participate in the celebration of the aforesaid jubilees.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, the 7th of May, in the year 1911, and the eighth year of our Pontificate.

"Pius PP. X."

Glennon and Blenk were the voices of the Church in this country who, in the preacher's place at the Pontifical Mass and the Vesper service respectively, bespoke the thoughts of American Catholics about their revered chief. The Archbishop of St. Louis declared that his purpose was "solely to tell the truth" about the Cardinal, not to flatter, and he held to it. The position of his Eminence, he said, was unique not alone in Church history, but in world history as well. Glennon proceeded:

"In the defense of social order; in the promotion of human right; in the supreme effort to maintain the social fabric and the institutions of our beloved country, no voice in all the broad land is today as potent, no personality so influential as that of our beloved Cardinal.

"Indeed the position of Cardinal Gibbons is unique not alone in Church history, but in world history as well. There have been great Cardinals in the centuries that are gone—Wolsey, Richelieu—but the opportunity of their greatness arose in part at least from the union of Church and State that then existed, and history tells us that they served their king with far more zeal than they served their God. We have had great Cardinals in modern times—Wiseman, Manning, Newman—and again in part their greatness came from the noble defense they made of a Church that was persecuted.

"We may not deny their greatness, their learning, their consecration; but, unlike any one member of either group, our Cardinal stands with the same devotion to his country as Richelieu had for France, cultivating a citizenship as unstained as Newman, and while reaching out to a broader democracy than even Cardinal Manning, he still remains pre-eminent in his unquestioned devotion to Holy Church.

"And so, my friends, you have before you some of the titles his Eminence has to our respect and reverence; so many reasons why you should thank God that he so blessed His servant and thereby blessed us all.

"Priest, Bishop, Cardinal, philosopher, lawgiver, chancellor, yes, and let us not omit through all these high-sounding titles that other—the first we notice, the last we may forget—

> 'For he is gracious if he be observed
> He hath a tear for pity and a hand
> Open as day for meeting charity.'

"Yes, Cardinal Gibbons is a kindly, gentle man."

Archbishop Blenk spoke in an analytical vein of the personality of Gibbons. Hundreds of men who were present, in and out of the Hierarchy and the priesthood, felt that they knew Gibbons as a familiar friend. Blenk put into words the thoughts which clamored for expression within those who were capable of understanding him. The head of the See of New Orleans had learned to know him exceptionally well through intimate contact during the Lenten visits of Gibbons to that city, and he revealed the Cardinal intimately, as it were, to those in the multitude who had no opportunity of observing him at close range and in every aspect. He said:

"No single treasure yielded us by these golden years is more precious, it seems to me, than the revelation of the Cardinal's personality. Rich in varied gifts, it is above all remarkable for a perfect balance of powers, for a happy blending of qualities that meet but rarely in one person. We perceive in him a natural nobility and elevation of soul, an innate dignity of character, a winning simplicity, an unfailing courtesy, an instinctive and almost unerring sense of whatsoever is just, is right, is true and noble; a charity unfeigned, that excludes no man and no class of men, that heeds no prejudice, cherishes no rancor, rises above injury, harbors no resentment, is single-minded in its devotion to the good of others; a faith unclouded and undimmed that receives the words of the Divine Saviour with the simplicity of a child, penetrates their meaning with the keenness of a sage and makes their spirit his second nature; a faith that can be sure of itself without impugning the sincerity of others who receive it not; a whole-hearted faith, ardent in its zeal to convince, yet never intemperate; a faith that is Catholic in every fibre and absolutely loyal to the Vicar of Christ, reposing undisturbed on that rock which unbelief, ignorance, hatred and misguided zeal have beat against, age after age, in vain assault; a mind devoid of all pretensions, humble, open, and even now, on the verge of fourscore, willing to learn; intent upon the practical, averse to subtleties, aiming at the heart of a question and reaching it with rare insight; a mind firm in its grasp of ideas and principles, clear in conception and always simple, direct and clear in exposition, faultless in tact and sure in knowledge of the mind it seeks to persuade; conscious of its own rectitude, respectful of adversaries, giving no cause of offense, yet speaking out the truth with warmth and without tremor of fear; gifted with the supreme endowment of wisdom and good sense, free from illusory schemes, yet ever hopeful and buoyant; in all things a

good, true and wise man, a gentleman, a priest of God, a Bishop and Prince of the Church.

"God meant him for a leader of his people. Looking back over that long life, we can now discern the special Providence that guided his every step and prepared him for his destined work. We see him nurtured in the love of religion and virtue; we see him led by Providence in boyhood to the Isle of Saints, where his spirit waxed strong in the pure air of Catholic faith; we see him deeply impressed in youth by a remarkable man whose ardent missionary zeal was made all the more yearning by admiration and love for his countrymen; we see him pass into that school which stamped forever the ideals of the priesthood upon his very soul.

"Since twenty-five years ago, he has been 'Our Cardinal,' and there is no doubt that the dignity has added not only a distinction to his personality but new force to his influence. The Cardinal's robes, it is true, are a trial as well as an honor. In them the small man appears smaller, but the man of high moral stature, the churchman of wisdom and broad intelligence, stands forth in greater vigor and grace. Cardinal Gibbons has stood the test.

"How long he has held the nation as his audience! Great orators and statesmen have risen since then and gained the ear of the people; today they are heard no more. Presidents have come and gone, and already the memory of some is beginning to grow dim. But all during this quarter century the Cardinal has grown in influence; today, as for many years past—can I not truly say?—there is no other speaker upon topics of abiding interest whom the American people hear so gladly.

"He could not speak as your pastor only, O Catholic people of Maryland; as Cardinal, as Primate of the American Hierarchy, as Bishop of the National Capital, he belongs to the whole country. Many, indeed, outside

the Church listen to him as to the 'Voice of Religion,' for prejudice disarms when the Cardinal speaks.

"He, more than any other among us, has directed the course of Catholicism in our land. But, above all, he has expressed most truly and most clearly the Catholic thought and sentiment of America and thereby crystallized them; he has been our representative to this age and nation. His influence, overflowing into all the channels of our life, cannot be adequately described, but I would invite you, my brethren, to consider it in its relation to the national sentiment, to the moral and social betterment of the people and to the religious life of the nation."

Even more than at the services in the Cathedral the affection of the Hierarchy and priesthood for Gibbons was shown in the atmosphere which pervaded a dinner in honor of the visiting Bishops, held on the same day at St. Mary's Seminary. With restraint removed, there was a singular demonstration of what may be termed the general state of mind—the morale, it would be called in secular life—of the higher organization of the Church in this country. Under Gibbons, a born leader, as his colleagues had abundantly testified, the spirit of devotion to their chief, the happy personal relations existing between them and him and the inspiration to general harmony and aggressive work would have served as a model for any man whose life is spent in the organization of large material undertakings.

Gibbons was not more ready to lead than the Bishops and clergy were to follow. Possessing an almost unique faculty for reaching into the inner lives of a great number of persons, even the remembrance of whose names would overtax the memory of an ordinary individual, he had

bound them to him by the strongest ties. They trusted and loved him and believed in his justice; more than that, they saw in his leadership a powerful force which made their own efforts visibly more fruitful in dioceses throughout the land. Their own standing in the public view was enhanced by his prestige. If any scoffer doubted that the Catholic Church produced the highest and best type of manhood, the choice fruit and flower of religious life, they could point to Gibbons. He was an exemplar for the whole Church and a help to the whole Church. His unceasing labors for years, often in the face of discouragements that would have crushed a less resolute soul, seeing clearly where the view was dark to others, heeding not misunderstanding and distrust, had become an influence which was felt in the humblest mission in the land, no less than in the splendid temples of the Catholic faith whose spires pointed to heaven in the seats of the archiepiscopal sees.

This discipline, using the word in its ordinary and not its ecclesiastical sense, was the discipline of armies which win battles; of governments which accomplish large and sustained results; of great industrial undertakings whose activities span the civilized world. To whatever extent it had existed in the Church in America before, it had been greatly amplified by Gibbons. He had inspired every Catholic with a new spirit of confidence.

The unity and obedience which are fundamental in the system of the Church must produce cohesion always. Thus she proceeds serenely as a compact unit upon her mission to the souls of men. In the same general sense, but of course by different methods and for different aims,

armies are disciplined, obeying their officers according to gradations of rank; but not every army conquers, however obedient to the will and guidance of its leader. Gibbons inspired American Catholics much in the same way that the great generals of history have inspired their troops. Whatever successes they were able to win without him, their potency was multiplied by the consummate skill of their leader and the conquering enthusiasm which he inspired by means of his own personality.

In the addresses at the feast of good feeling at the seminary, words proceeded straight from the hearts of those who spoke them. Simple truth and affectionate hope predominated. Archbishop Farley went so far as to express the wish that "before he is gathered to the golden gate of eternity our American Cardinal might pass still higher to the one great place in Rome," meaning of course, the Papacy.

Archbishop Ireland declared that "it was Cardinal Gibbons who was the chief factor in bringing home to the American Church the opportunities for growth and success under the guidance of this free country." He proceeded:

"Often as I watched with straining eyes this ship of ours I asked myself 'How is it in Baltimore?' for I knew that Cardinal Gibbons was there. I knew his power and prestige—whether it be a question of political or ecclesiastical importance—and I knew that standing there on the deck of our ship Cardinal Gibbons was at the helm. And let me tell you that he always gave the helm the right twist.

"The providential gift to America in the last fifty years was James Gibbons. I have differed with him

sometimes as I watched Baltimore to see how things were going. I thought that perhaps his Eminence might go faster, or he might go slower, or that he might go straighter instead of taking the roundabout path, but when all was over he had given the helm the right twist."

Bishop Donahue, of Wheeling, recalling the years he spent in the household of Gibbons, said:

"They say you must live with a man to know him, and if that be true, then, privileged as I was to live at the archiepiscopal residence with his Eminence, I found my superior a prelate worthy of the best ages of faith, a living, breathing exponent of all that was good in a Cardinal of the Holy Catholic Church."

Bishop Donahue then, in a delicately humorous manner which made the Cardinal smile, told of some of his personal traits, and said:

"His Eminence is a painful model of punctuality and the virtue of doing the most with the time God gives us here on earth. Many a high prelate of this distinguished presence has caught a train by a hair's breadth and hung on by his coat tails only to find his Eminence safely within the arms of a chair inside the car. Punctuality, however, while a virtue of the Cardinal, is not a cardinal virtue, and while you can't teach old persons new tricks I recommend this virtue to the young priests here assembled."

There were many other expressions of love and gratitude. Gibbons had not expected to make any response, but he was so overwhelmed by the evident sincerity of his brethren that he was moved to reconsider his decision. He exclaimed:

"Honors I have had in my life until I am almost ashamed, but I assure you, in the presence of God, that I cherish one grain of your love more than all the laudations which have been heaped upon me. When I contrast the difficulties which encompassed us in the former days and the enlightened conditions of to-day, with prejudice almost entirely swept away, I see a great vision of a future when there shall be but one God, one faith and one baptism."

Such an occasion as the jubilee could not fail to develop many anecdotes of association with Gibbons, or influences which he had produced. Monsignor Patterson, of Boston, told of addressing a large class of young men, and asking if some one of them would mention the name of a truly great man. A member of the class, who had met the Cardinal and heard him preach, at once mentioned Gibbons. Monsignor Patterson asked why he considered the Cardinal a truly great man.

"Because," replied the young student, "he is a truly humble man."

On the following night, Monday, there was a public parade in Baltimore in honor of the jubilee. Those who organized it, and who did not lack the optimism customary in such cases, had predicted that twenty thousand persons would march. When the time came to compute the number actually in line, it was found that they had swelled to thirty-one thousand.

The parade was made up of Catholic organizations from Baltimore and Washington and groups from parishes, many of whom were in emblematic costumes. Gibbons reviewed the procession from the Cathedral portico.

and was naturally amazed at the extent of it. In a letter of thanks to those who had participated, he wrote:

"They were great moments when I sat in front of the Cathedral and viewed the noble throng passing."

Gibbons was particularly active in encouraging lay organizations within the Church, and one of the events of his jubilee was a general convention in Baltimore of the Holy Name Society, whose aim is to suppress profanity and immorality in general. He made an address to the convention in which he exhorted the members to renewed efforts.

There were numerous receptions and other events in honor of the festivities of the week, and on Thursday a special service was held at the Cathedral for children. Delegations visited Gibbons, presenting to him addresses and gifts, the latter including a rosary of gold nuggets from the Knights of Columbus. At St. Mary's Industrial School, the institution for boys in which he found so often vent for his desire to show his interest in the young, a large chapel named in his honor had just been erected, and he was present at the services of dedication. So far did his interest in the school extend that he sometimes turned aside from his greatest preoccupations to pay a visit to it, or to lend his advice and guidance upon some subject connected with its management or discipline. The welfare of a waif seemed no less precious to him than the welfare of a President.

CHAPTER XLI

SOME EVENTS OF LATER YEARS

The records of written and spoken words leave no doubt that there was a distinct vein of the prophetic in Gibbons. We have already seen that on that Good Friday night in 1865 when Lincoln was assassinated he preached in Baltimore a few hours before the President was stricken down, picturing the general outline of the circumstances of that event without any conscious idea that the "benevolent ruler" of whose sudden end he was speaking, apparently as an imaginative simile, was the head of his own nation. Another instance was given on the morning of February 7, 1904, when the great Baltimore fire began, whose ravages spread within one hundred yards of the archiepiscopal residence and would have destroyed it had not the wind changed.

It was the first Sunday of the month, and, as usual on such occasions, the Cardinal had prepared in advance a sermon to be delivered at the Cathedral. The topic which he had chosen for his discourse was "The Uses of Adversity," and it could scarcely have been more appropriate had he intended it directly for the guidance of the congregation with full knowledge of the impending calamity. He enumerated some of the reverses of fortune to which human beings are subject, such as a fall

from opulence to poverty and a sudden visitation of Providence, and proceeded:

"If tribulation is a law of human life, it is also, thank God, a law and condition of Christian progress and perfection. . . . The teaching of Christian philosophy with regard to the uses of adversity may be summed up in one short sentence—that it is to be borne with patience and even with joy. . . . What we call accidents are links in the chain of our immortal destiny."

Enumerating afflictions to be borne with patience, he gave the illustration of a person inordinately attached to earthly riches, in whose case "a financial crash comes which reduces you to straitened circumstances. You are thereby admonished to accept the situation in the spirit of Job, and to say with him 'The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.' "

He warned against considering any trial as crushing, quoting from the Persian poet Sadi as follows:

"Once I murmured at the vicissitudes of fortune when my feet were bare, and I had not the means of procuring shoes. I entered a mosque with a heavy heart, and there beheld a man deprived of his feet. I offered up my praise and thanksgiving to Heaven for its bounty, and bore with patience the want of shoes."

The admonition was especially appropriate to the congregation of the Cathedral, which embraced an exceptionally large proportion of the wealthy men whose places of business in downtown Baltimore were about to be reduced to ruins.

As the service began, there had been no indication that a great fire had started, but when Gibbons left the church after its conclusion he found the streets thronged with excited people and resounding with the clang of fire engines. Some hours later, large embers began to fall on the Cathedral grounds and an ash tree in the yard, naked of foliage in the winter wind, caught fire. All that day and the next the conflagration continued, causing a loss estimated at $125,000,000 and visiting upon Baltimore one of the most appalling blows which any American city ever sustained.[1]

Gibbons had arranged to start for New Orleans for a visit to his brother on the evening of the first day of the fire, and he left before the disaster had reached its full extent. Not until he arrived in New Orleans did he learn that the principal business district of the city, the district in which he had been accustomed to take many of his noonday walks, had been laid in ashes.

The treasured archives of the diocese, from Carroll's time down, were stored in his residence and would have been destroyed had the flames swept only a little further north. His predecessors had been content to leave them in loose heaps or in barrels, but he had taken pains to have them carefully sorted out and indexed in a manner worthy of their value. The danger to which they were subjected by the great fire was not forgotten. By his direction the archives were removed to a space beneath the Cathedral, where they were comparatively safe from another disaster of the same kind.

In some of the chief events of his life his course was

[1] Hall, *History of Baltimore*, p. 343.

such as to seem, in the light of future events, to have been based upon fore-knowledge. When struggling against ecclesiastical condemnation of the Knights of Labor, he had taken the ground that that organization contained within itself the seeds of dissolution, and that in a short time it would probably be so insignificant in importance that the ban of the Church against it would mean little, while condemnation would be taken as a direct rebuke to the general aspiration of labor to organize for its own betterment. This view, amply verified later, he expressed at a time when many observers of the situation were predicting that the organization of the Knights would spread to such gigantic proportions that it would dominate the political life of the country and become in effect a dictatorship.

Again, had Gibbons possessed knowledge that the World War was little more than a decade and a half distant, he could scarcely have been more urgent in demanding that the Cahensly movement for solidifying foreign national groups in the Church in America should be throttled. His course throughout the struggle against Cahenslyism appeared to be based upon a realization that the danger of foreign influence impairing American unity was at the door of his country instead of being remote, as so many leaders of public opinion were inclined to think. He summoned every resource at his command in order to stay the movement, almost as if he had been engaged in the physical defense of the country against an alien invader. His effort was put forth, as if by insight, so that it would begin to produce the maximum effect about the time the World War actually began. In

view of the fact that the obstacles to coalescing public sentiment in the United States without a period of preparation after the European nations were already locked in conflict were one of the chief causes which delayed American participation with the Allies, it is not difficult to take the view that the campaign against Cahenslyism waged by Gibbons in the years 1886–1891 was nothing short of a providential forerunner of the course of events.

Gibbons bestowed upon the Catholic University the affection which a devoted parent might lavish upon a favorite child. "From the beginning," he said, "the university has been for me an object of deepest personal concern. Through its growth and through all the vicissitudes which it has experienced, it has been very near to my heart. It has cost me, in anxiety and tension of spirit, far more than any other of the duties or cares which have fallen to my lot. But for this reason, I feel a greater satisfaction in its progress." [2] Pius X, in a letter to Gibbons encouraging the work of the university in 1912, wrote that "we have good reason to congratulate first of all you, beloved son, to whose solicitous and provident care we ascribe the prosperous condition of the university."

A blow which almost crushed Gibbons was the failure in business in 1904 of Thomas E. Waggaman, treasurer of the university, as a result of which $850,000 of its investments were temporarily lost and never fully regained. He was overwhelmed by this at first; but threw all his strength into a determined effort to recover for the uni-

[2] Bishop Shahan in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1921.

versity what it had lost. Contributions were sent to him by non-Catholics as well as Catholics, including not a few from men prominent in public life who had learned to admire him, and to whom the pathetic aspect of his loss strongly appealed.

Some large gifts were subsequently made to the university, and these sustained Gibbons in his hopefulness for the institution. He wrote a letter of warm appreciation to the Knights of Columbus in June, 1913, when they presented $500,000 to the institution for the perpetual education of fifty lay students there. The Knights had previously given $50,000 to found a chair of American history. He lived to see the resources of the university reach a total valuation of $5,000,000.

April 15, 1915, was one of the brightest days of the Cardinal's life, for then the university, in the presence of a great gathering of the Hierarchy and clergy, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its opening. He delivered the sermon at a Pontifical High Mass celebrated in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, to mark the event, saying:

"The experience of these twenty-five years emphasizes the needs which the university aims to supply—the need of Divine truth to complete our human knowledge, of Divine justice as the highest sanction of law, of the spirit of Christ in our ministrations of mercy and love. There is no real liberty without law, and there is no meaning or validity to law unless it be observed.

"The growth of democracy does not imply that each man shall become a law unto himself, but that he shall feel in himself the obligation to obey. If the enacting power has been transferred from the will of the ruler

to the will of the people, the binding, coercive power has been laid with greater stress of responsibility than ever before upon the individual conscience.

"Unless men be taught that obedience is right and honorable and necessary alike for private interest and the public weal, legislation will avail but little, the law-making power will become a mockery and the people themselves will complain that legislation has been carried to excess.

"But conscience has need of a higher sanction than any merely human sense of justice. To meet the requirements of our religious, social and political situation is a duty that we owe to the Church and to our country. To fulfill it we must combine our efforts, and I rejoice that in the Catholic University a centre of thought and action has been provided."

A letter from Benedict XV was read, commending the institution in the highest terms, and felicitating it upon the work which it was doing for the people among whom it was planted. He wrote:

"We love, nay, we dearly cherish the American people, forceful as they are with the vigor of youth and second to none in efficiency of action and thought. And as we earnestly desire that an ever-widening path to the highest level of human achievement may open before them, so we cannot but feel the deepest pleasure at everything that furthers their progress."

Gibbons reposed great confidence in Bishop Shahan, the rector of the university in the closing years of his life, under whose administration its progress consoled him for some of his earlier disappointments.

He often took the opportunity on important ecclesias-

tical occasions to implant the view that the performance of civic duty was a part of a Christian's responsibility. At the celebration of the centenary of the New York archdiocese in 1908, he delivered the sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral April 29, on which occasion Cardinal Logue celebrated Pontifical Mass; and Archbishop Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate, imparted the Papal benediction. In the sermon he dwelt upon the strong men who had helped to build up the diocese since it was separated from the mother See of Baltimore by Pius VII. He regarded Archbishop Hughes as having been providentially raised to meet the exigencies of the times, as Carroll had been. Of the piety and learning of Archbishop Corrigan, his opponent in the consideration of so many questions on which leaders of the Church might naturally differ, he did not fail to speak in terms of warm praise. To the whole assembly he addressed this admonition:

"Take an active, loyal, personal interest in all that concerns the temporal and spiritual welfare of our beloved country. No man should be a drone in the social beehive. No one should be an indifferent spectator of the social, economic and political events occurring around him. As you all enjoy the protection of a strong and enlightened government, so should each man have a share in sustaining the burden of the Commonwealth. Above all, take an abiding and a vital interest in all that affects your holy religion." [3]

Feeling that the problems of Catholics throughout the English-speaking countries in contending with misun-

[3] McNally, The Catholic Centennial, pp. 52–61.

derstanding were much the same, Gibbons showed an especial desire to cooperate with his brethren of the faith in those countries. He accepted an invitation to attend the International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal in September, 1910. Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli attended the Congress in the capacity of Papal Legate, as he had attended the London congress two years before, but under far different circumstances; for government and people, in Canada, under the same flag that floated over the mother country, welcomed him with a cordiality which was in striking contrast to his cool reception in the British metropolis. Accompanied by Cardinals Gibbons and Logue he carried the Host through the streets in a procession which was five hours in passing. Non-Catholics as well as Catholics watched reverently in the throngs which turned out to witness that religious spectacle, and no untoward incident marked the events of the day. Gibbons preached at the Pontifical High Mass in the Cathedral of St. James.

"Your Eminence will be able to recount to the Holy Father," he said to Cardinal Vannutelli in conclusion, "the success which has crowned this congress from beginning to end. . . . You will speak of the solemn public procession through the streets of Montreal not only without let or hindrance, but with the cordial co-operation and approval of the civic authorities and the piety and enthusiasm of the people."

The admiration for Gibbons felt by the world-wide representation of Catholics assembled in the city was shown at a fete given in his honor by Sir Thomas George Shaughnessy. Soon after the close of the celebration in

Montreal, Cardinal Vannutelli visited him in Baltimore, where the Roman prelate was welcomed with a procession in which leading men of the city escorted him to the Cathedral.

Although the spirit of Gibbons rebounded from many experiences which would have unnerved most men, he was plunged into depths of despondency when he discovered that one of his priests, the pastor of a small congregation in Baltimore, had become overwhelmed in speculation and had accumulated debts amounting to more than $30,000.[4] This priest had felt an ambition to erect a new church for his people, and, realizing that in their poverty they would be unable to pay for it, he had conceived the plan of embarking in financial ventures with a view to raising the money through what he vainly supposed to be his own skill in business. He paid one debt by contracting another until finally the nature of his operations became known to the Cardinal. The priest was removed at once from his pastorate and sent to a sanatorium, for the mania on the subject of speculation which he had developed was pronounced by medical opinion to be a form of insanity.

Gibbons was so overcome that the priests of his household were shocked at intervals for several days to observe him wringing his hands and declaring that his life had been wrecked—that life which had left so many deep impressions upon the world! That no person might suffer from the wrong which had been done, he pledged himself to pay every dollar that the priest owed, although there was no legal obligation upon him to do so.

[4] March, 1909.

By energetic efforts he obtained, in less than six months, enough funds to discharge the last of the debts. When attempts were made to explain the priest's conduct on the ground of mental irresponsibility, Gibbons would admit no trace of excuse for it. So keenly did he feel the reproach which he feared would be brought upon the Church that it made him ill.

A discussion which attracted marked attention in the Christian world in 1910 was between Cardinal Gibbons and Thomas A. Edison, the famous inventor, on the subject of immortality. Edison denied the doctrine. Reasoning as a material scientist, he asserted that man was not an individual, but a collection of myriads of individuals as a city was. He expounded his theory thus:

"The cell, minute and little known, is the real and only individual. A man is made up of many million cells. Not being, in effect, an individual, how could he go to heaven or hell as an individual or be given a reward or punishment after death had caused the separation of his cells and the diffusion of their collective intelligence? . . . We are no more individuals than cities are. . . . If you cut your hand it bleeds. Then you lose cells, and that is quite as if a city lost inhabitants through some tremendous accident."

It was the mind, he argued, that was divine, if he should admit the word at all, and mind consisted of the collective intellect of all the cells which constituted a man. To punish or reward the combined soul of the great cell-collection would be as unjust as it would be impossible and "Nature is as just as she is merciless." Edison was careful to say that this did not affect his firm

belief in the "great moral law," which he summed up in the precepts of the Golden Rule. He continued:

"Science proves its theories, or it rejects them. I have never seen the slightest scientific proof of the religious theories of heaven and hell; of future life for individuals or of a personal God. . . . Proof! Proof! That is what I have always been after; that is what my mind requires before it can accept a theory as a fact. . . . I do not know the soul. I know the mind. If there really is any soul, I have found, in my investigations, no evidence of it."

Edison expressed no doubt of a Supreme Intelligence, but could not personify it. Life, it appeared to him, went on endlessly, but no more in human beings than in other animals or even in vegetables. While life, collectively, must be immortal, human beings, individually, could not be such, he held, because they were not individuals but mere aggregates of cells. The core of the great scientist's premise, argument and conclusion was summed up in the declaration: "There is no supernatural."

Cardinal Gibbons, in his reply, went to the root of the question by pointing out that while Edison's general theme was a denial, it was a denial based on assertion.[5] He wrote:

"The most striking assertion is his fundamental one that cells have intelligence. Mr. Edison does not try to prove it; he asserts it over and over again. And he claims to accept no scientific fact without the final proof. Now, who ever proved the existence of an intelligent cell? There is not a scintilla of proof, not the beginning of a proof for such an assertion."

[5] *Columbian Magazine*, March, 1911.

The Cardinal cited as an example the remark of Mr. Edison that when one cuts his hand and it bleeds, there is a loss of cells, as if a city lost some of its inhabitants. He reasoned:

"If my hand bleeds, then, according to his theory, I lose part of my intelligence. If I lose my hand then I lose more intelligence; and, as one of my friends put it, an appalling loss of mind would go with the loss of a leg or when a stout man reduces in flesh."

It seemed to him that "what Edison really meant was that the mind is made up of the combined intelligence of the brain cells; but so far as science knows, there is no more proof of the existence of intelligence in a brain cell than in the cell of a potato." He proceeded:

"We do know that there is a connection between the brain and the mind, that the mind thinks through the aid of the brain, as it sees through the aid of the nerves of the eye; but that does not prove that the brain thinks any more than it proves that the nerves of the eyes see; no more even than it would prove that the strings of a violin enjoy their own music. If we do not know that cells have intelligence, how can we know that any combination of cells can produce intelligence? Yet Mr. Edison believes it. . . .

"We know nothing, then, about intelligent cells; but we do know that a man has an intelligent mind or soul. We do not distinguish between mind and soul in the way Mr. Edison does, in his unphilosophical terminology. The mind is the soul in its intellectual operations."

The Cardinal pointed to revealed religion as proof that the soul endures after death and proceeded:

"Christ brings to humanity the certainty of eternal life. He proved it by His own resurrection; and, if any one thinks that the evidence of Christ's resurrection is weak, I ask him to study and think deeply over the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. No sane scholar denies that we have here the testimony of St. Paul himself; nor that St. Paul is honestly setting down the testimony of those who claim to have seen our Lord after his death. If so many sane men, Apostles and Disciples of Christ, are mistaken; if they can not believe the testimany of their own eyes, if delusion can keep such a firm hold on so many different characters for so many years and become the basis of all their beliefs and the transforming power of their lives, then no human testimony is of any value; then let us close our courts of justice, for no case is proven by so many trustworthy witnesses."

The Cardinal also showed that the human mind, apart from the evidences of religion, was able to reason up to the immortality of the soul.

Throughout his life, he retained vivid memories of his early labors in North Carolina, and he did not allow the associations which he had formed there to lapse. In 1910, he preached at the dedication of St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral in Wilmington, a handsome house of worship which succeeded the modest church in which he had sat as presiding Bishop of the diocese more than forty years before. Bishop Haid in an address to him at the services said that "your presence here to-day is but another proof of your undying love for the people and for the scenes of your earliest episcopal labors."

In the same year the North Carolina Society of Baltimore presented to him a memorial volume filled with

manuscripts, photographs, and prints associated with his work in that State. In accepting it, he told the delegation of the society which called at his residence that the people of North Carolina had welcomed him in 1868 with open arms, regardless of faith, and he expressed deep gratitude to them. He added:

"With the interest of a young lady reading her first novel, I will read this novel of my younger days. After I have read it, it will be placed among the most treasured archives of the Cathedral of Baltimore."

He sustained a heavy personal loss in the death on February 11, 1911, of Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, a companion and prop to him in the most fruitful years of his career. Sharing the fate of men who live exceptionally long, he saw one after another of those who had been bound closest to him disappear from earth. A few days before Ryan's death, the Cardinal went to Philadelphia to visit him. Entering the sick room, he placed his hand upon the Archbishop's brow and said softly:

"Your Grace does not know me."

The Archbishop, who had been hovering on the verge of unconsciousness, answered in a sudden rally of his faculties:

"I know every tone of your Eminence's voice and now, as ever, I am convinced that you are the instrument of Providence for every good thing for our Church and country."

The sick prelate, seemingly endowed with new strength, talked for some minutes with the Cardinal. They spoke of men and things long gone, of mutual hopes

that had blossomed or withered. Naturally their thoughts turned to the future of the nation, which they had served so faithfully.

"If we keep America conservative," said the Archbishop, "no country will be as great as this."

Tears were in the eyes of Gibbons as he departed from the house of the dying. Another sympathizer, a Protestant, who visited the Archbishop shortly before the end came, said that it seemed like entering a room filled with angels.

One of the views which Gibbons held tenaciously was that the American laity should take an active and enlightened part in the Church's multiform work for the welfare of humanity. It was his view that the laity in the United States possessed a special capacity for cooperation with the Bishops owing to their independent character and their spirit of initiative. In an address at the opening of a convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in Milwaukee, August 10, 1913, he said:

"An enlightened and zealous laity is the glory of the Christian Church. The most luminous periods of the Church's history have been epochs conspicuous for laymen who have vindicated the cause of Christianity by their eloquence and their writings, as well as by the sanctity of their lives.

"Among the notable defenders of the Catholic religion in the nineteenth century I mention Chateaubriand, Montalembert, the Count de Maistre and Frederick Ozanam, in France; Gorres, Windhorst, Mallinckrodt, in Germany; Donoso Cortes, in Spain; Sir Kenelm Digby, W. G. Ward and Frederick Lucas, in England; the

peerless O'Connell, in Ireland; Brownson and many other lights in the United States.

"Let us indulge the hope—and this hope I cherish in my breast when I contemplate the scene before me today —that God will raise up in our own country and in our own day a formidable number of champions of Christ, who will be 'a light to the revelation of the Gentiles and the glory of the people of Israel.'

"If I may single out one society without prejudice to the merits of the others, I will name in a particular manner that splendid organization, the Knights of Columbus. They are our joy and crown. 'They are the glory of Jerusalem. They are the joy of Israel; they are the honor of our people.' Wherever calumny raises its foul head, they are ever ready, like true knights, to smite the enemy. Whenever an appeal is made in the cause of religion or charity, they are always foremost in lending a helping hand.

"Brethren of the laity, we of the clergy need your help. We learn from the history of the primitive Church what valuable aid the early Christians rendered to the Apostles in the propagation of the Gospel. And if the Apostles with all their piety, zeal and grace, fresh from the inspiring presence of their Master, could not have accomplished what they did without the assistance of the laity, how can we, who have not the measure of their gifts, hope to spread the light of truth without your hearty concurrence?"

Gibbons maintained close ties with St. Charles' College, where he had pursued his early studies in preparation for the priesthood. He was greatly grieved when the college was destroyed by fire March 17, 1911, and, as usual, expressed his sentiments in acts, contributing $10,000 to aid in rebuilding the institution.

His last meeting with Pius X was in the course of a visit to Rome in the Spring of 1914, when he took part in a consistory. Thomas Nelson Page, the American ambassador in that city, gave a luncheon in his honor. On May 26 Gibbons entertained sixty guests at dinner, including ten Cardinals, among whom were Farley and O'Connell.

On the way home he stopped in Switzerland, where he was the guest of Francis de Sales Jenkins at Territet, near Montreux, on the shore of Lake Geneva, where he was invigorated by motor trips and by walks in the surrounding forests. Queen Elizabeth, of Belgium, who was in that vicinity, having expressed her desire to meet him, was invited to breakfast at the residence at which he was a guest, where Gibbons received her both with graciousness and with the honor befitting her rank. Soon afterward he proceeded to Brussels, where he accepted an invitation to visit King Albert at the palace. He was much impressed by the King's wide knowledge of American affairs, which was abundantly in evidence later.

In London he was the guest of Cardinal Bourne, and received the deference due him as the foremost prelate of the English-speaking world. A writer in the London *Universe* hailed him as first among Americans, saying:

"Two great Americans were this week simultaneously in London. On Tuesday, I was privileged to chat for several minutes with the greater. The other is Mr. Roosevelt. . . . Cardinal Gibbons is a greater national institution of America than the greatest of its politicians. . . . Whatever has been achieved in the building up of American greatness has been due in no small measure to the

leavening power in the States of Cardinal Gibbons' personality."

Gibbons returned to Baltimore July 13, unconscious of the convulsion which was soon to shake some of the countries of Europe which he had just visited.

He passed the golden jubilee of his episcopate in 1918 and was besought to consent to a great celebration of that event, but all plans for its observance on a large scale in Baltimore in the autumn were dropped because of a general abandonment of public gatherings on account of the influenza epidemic, which cost hundreds of thousands of lives throughout the civilized world in that year. Benedict XV honored him with the following letter:[6]

"*To Our Beloved Son,*
"*James Cardinal Gibbons,*
"*Archbishop of Baltimore,*
"BELOVED SON, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION:

"We have lately received the good news that during the coming October, on the happy occasion of the golden jubilee of your episcopate, your fellow-citizens purpose to honor you with signal marks of their affection and joy. Indeed, in so illustrious a manner have you won the high esteem of men in the sight of all your fellow-Americans that it can hardly be a matter of surprise that not only your clergy and people, bound to you by ties of affection, but also men of every order, should join in paying you honor. May you enjoy the fruits of your piety and religious observance, bearing in mind that an abundant measure of reward is to be expected from Him who 'rendereth unto every man according to his works.'

"As for ourselves, we join our grateful thanks with yours to the God who has sustained you, and, moreover,

[6] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

we wish your joy to be augmented by our own congratulations, for, indeed, it is pleasing to us to fold in our fatherly embrace those who, like yourself, have labored long in the office of the Good Shepherd. We are sending to you a souvenir of the happy day, which, at the same time, is a testimony of our affection for you.

"Moreover, beseeching God to regard favorably your supplications, we empower you, in our name, on the day of your jubilee, at the solemn sacrifice, to bless those present, announcing a plenary indulgence to be gained by following the usual conditions. And as a pledge of heavenly rewards and as a proof of our own affection for you, beloved son, we lovingly in the Lord impart to you and yours the Apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on this fourth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen and the fifth of our pontificate.

"BENEDICT PP. XV."

A delegation headed by the Rt. Rev. Frederick E. Keating, Bishop of Northampton, was sent by the Hierarchy of England, with the good will of the British government, to express the congratulations of English Catholics. A French delegation headed by the Rt. Rev. Eugene Julien, Bishop of Arras, also came to present felicitations. The Church in Belgium sent Mgr. Carton de Wiart, canon of the diocese of Namur, on a similar mission.

On February 20 of the following year there was an imposing celebration of the jubilee at the Catholic University, attended by more than eighty prelates, including Cardinals O'Connell, of Boston, and Begin, of Quebec. On that occasion a purse of $50,000, the gift of his fellow-Archbishops and Bishops, was presented to Gibbons.

Archbishop Cerretti, then assistant Papal Secretary of State, for whom, when he had been attached to the Papal legation in Washington, Gibbons had cherished warm regard, was present as a representative of the Pope.

Gibbons, in his address, spoke from the viewpoint of his long perspective in the Church, saying:

"At the close of the Third Plenary Council, over which I had the honor to preside, I addressed the assembled prelates and referred to the words which St. Paul wrote to Timothy, because they did not despise my youth. If your predecessors in the episcopate were so forbearing to me in my youthful experiences, you have always been kind and considerate to me in my declining years.

"I am today the sole survivor of the nearly one thousand Bishops who attended the Vatican Council. What is still more noteworthy, I am actually the only survivor of the eighty prelates who attended the Third Plenary Council of 1884. The last to descend below the horizon of the tomb was the venerable patriarch of the west, the great apostle of temperance, the patriot whom his fellow-citizens loved to honor, without distinction of race or religion, the lion of the fold of Judah. I refer to John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul."

On March 3 following, sixteen Cardinals took part in the celebration of Gibbons' jubilee in his titular Church of Santa Maria in Trestevere, Rome, when Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, celebrated Pontifical High Mass.

CHAPTER XLII

MANIFOLD PUBLIC RELATIONS

Cardinal Gibbons' code of civic duty, like most of his other fundamental conceptions, was the essence of simplicity. First, he thought it not unworthy to cherish among the most important privileges with which he was endowed the rights of American citizenship; second, he held that cherishing the value of those rights implied the direct duty of making full use of them; third, he seemed to be incapable of thinking in terms of class. His concern was always for the greatest good to the greatest number, which he regarded as the basis upon which the citizen should cast his vote, without heading the call of selfish interest. He was never known to ask, in public or private, for any favor to the Catholic Church, but he was ready to claim for her at all times the same full protection of American laws which he freely conceded to other religious organizations. There was nothing in the general basis of this program which any citizen might not emulate.

His participation in public affairs was a by-product, just as it must be in the case of the great majority in every democracy. It would have been easy for him to escape all unofficial civic responsibility—the only kind which it was possible for him to exercise—without any adverse comment upon his abstention. He might have shared in

the aloofness of some moralists who seek to avoid "soiling their hands" with such things. He could have fallen in with the custom of many churchmen of all creeds who ignore the civic relation to a great extent, because in their view it is not a part of their spiritual mission, and because they fear that their motives may be misunderstood. His engrossing preoccupation with other affairs would have been as ready a reason for non-participation in the duties of the citizen by himself as in the cases of merchants, lawyers and others who profess to have no time for engaging in what they call politics.

It was not in the nature of Gibbons, however, to be in the world and not of it, in the sense of striving for the betterment of the world. The institutions of his country seemed to him not to be merely a material structure providing for material needs. In his view they were a manifestation of the workings of Divine Providence for the welfare of men. He considered America to be a providential nation, raised to diffuse liberty not only for itself, but as an example to the world. He could not spare any effort which he felt might help to keep it true to that mission.

He considered that one of his chief duties every year was to cast his vote, and only sheer physical inability could prevent him from doing so. He never failed to register on the poll books.

Yet, simple as this creed was, so sublimely did he carry it out that Americans came to regard him as their foremost citizen outside the circle of high official life and heeded his voice as perhaps the voice of no one since Washington. The quality of his citizenship became a

national model. It was unquestioned that he was not swayed by partisanship, and that expediency could not affect his course in public affairs. In times when popular opinion was distracted by the selfish clashes of political leaders his calm counsel was eagerly looked for. Whether he happened to be on the winning side of a question (as in regard to his warnings against Socialism and Bolshevism) or on the losing side (as when he opposed the woman suffrage and prohibition amendments) seemed to be of less concern to the mass of his fellow-citizens, than the evident fact that he had the courage to express his views fearlessly and without rancor whenever it seemed to him to be necessary to do so. The sanity of his political thinking seemed to be unfailing. He was the spokesman of the voiceless multitude.

On one occasion he said:

"Nobody knows my politics. I have more regard for principles than for men, but, of course, when I vote I must vote for some man. I never told any man for whom I would vote in any election. I hold myself independent and free to vote each time as it seems best, according to my knowledge and conscience." [1]

In a letter to his long-time friend, Ex-Senator Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia,[2] soon after the latter's nomination as the Democratic party's candidate for Vice-President, he wrote:

[1] Interview in the New York *World,* August 6, 1912.

[2] Cardinal Gibbons had met Mr. Davis often at Deer Park, Md., a resort in the Allegheny Mountains, where he used to go for periods of rest before his elevation to the Cardinalate and at intervals for a few years afterward. On one ocasion he dined with Mr. Davis when President Harrison was a guest at the same table. (Pepper, *The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis.*)

"BALTIMORE, August 31, 1904.

"*Honorable Henry G. Davis.*

"MY DEAR SENATOR:

". . . My first impulse, on reading of your nomination to the Vice-Presidency, was to congratulate you on the honor conferred on you by your fellow-citizens. But I hesitated to write, fearing that my letter might be construed as espousing publicly a political party.

"The delicate position in which I feel I am placed has always debarred me from giving public expression to my political views.

"Whatever may be the outcome of the campaign, your friends, among whom I claim to be one, will rejoice in the well-merited distinction conferred on you. . . .

"Faithfully yours in Christ,

"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Naturally many persons sought to obtain his public support of the candidacies of individuals, or to learn, from motives of curiosity, whom he would favor. One of these persons asked him, when the Presidential campaign of 1912 was in the period of its greatest intensity:

"Have you a favorite candidate?"

"I have," replied Gibbons.

"And may I ask who it is?"

"You may," the Cardinal answered.

A glance of keen expectancy was directed at him, and the visitor was about to ask the name of the candidate on whose side he was when the twinkle in his blue eyes became more evident. He checked the discussion at that point by adding:

"You may ask me, but not on any account will I tell you. I did not say that I would tell you, if you will remember; I said only that you might ask."

In that year he was invited to offer the invocation at the opening of the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore which nominated Woodrow Wilson for President. His prayer upon that occasion was:

"We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted and judgment decreed, assist with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides, by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion, by a faithful execution of the laws of justice and mercy and by restraining vice and immorality.

"Let the light of Thy Divine Wisdom direct the deliberations of this convention and shine forth in all its proceedings and enactments so that they may tend to the preservation of peace and good will and the promotion of concord and harmony.

"May authority be exercised without despotism, and liberty prevail without license. May this convention demonstrate once more to the American people and to the world at large that the citizens of the United States have solved the problem of self-government by exercising and tolerating the broadest and most untrammeled freedom of discussion in their political assemblies, without dethroning reason and without invading the sacred and inviolable domain of law and of public order.

"May the delegates assembled to select a candidate for Chief Magistrate be ever mindful that they are the sons of the same Heavenly Father, that they are brothers of the same national family, that they are fellow-citizens of the same glorious republic, that they are joint heirs of the same heritage of freedom, and may it be their highest

ambition to transmit this precious inheritance unimpaired to their children and their children's children.

"May the consciousness of this community of interests and of destiny banish from their hearts all bitterness, hatred and ill will, and inspire them with sentiments of genuine charity, benevolence and mutual respect and forbearance.

"We commend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union, and in that peace which the world cannot give, and after enjoying the blessings of this life that they may be admitted to those which are eternal."

At the session of the convention at which this prayer was delivered, Gibbons sat directly in front of William J. Bryan, who leaned over in his seat and introduced himself to the Cardinal. They afterward became well acquainted. Bryan made the principal speech at that session, and his oratorical delivery was a subject of especial interest to Gibbons.

When it was announced that the Cardinal would offer the prayer on that occasion, a letter, supposed to have been written by an unbalanced man, was sent to him, intimating that he might be shot if he persisted in his decision to offer the prayer. Needless to say, he was unmoved by it.

In a sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral on November 4 of the same year, two days before the election, he reaffirmed his belief in the stability of the Republic and the adequacy of the Constitution. He pointed out that it

was customary for gloomy persons to indulge in forecasts of evil before elections, which were not borne out by subsequent developments. In the American system of separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers, he saw a marked influence on the side of safety. His main concern was regarding a possible lack of interest on the part of voters. He said:

"It is my profound conviction that if ever the republic is doomed to decay, if the future historian shall ever record the decline and fall of the American republic, its downfall will be due, not to a hostile invasion, but to the indifference, lethargy and political apostasy of her own sons.

"And if all citizens are bound to take an interest in public affairs, that duty especially devolves on those who are endowed with superior intelligence and education, and who ought to be the leaders and exemplars of the people, guiding them in the path of political rectitude.

"There are three conspicuous citizens who are now candidates for the Presidency. Whatever may be my private and personal preference and predilection, it is not for me in this sacred pulpit or anywhere else publicly to dictate or even suggest to you the candidate of my choice.

"May God so enlighten the minds and quicken the conscience, of the American people to a sense of their civic duties as to arouse in them an earnest and practical interest in the coming election, and may He so guide their hearts that they will select a Chief Magistrate whose administration will redound to the material prosperity and moral welfare of our beloved republic."

He also offered the opening prayer at the beginning of the third day's session of the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1920, which nominated Harding

for President. The first part of the prayer upon that occasion was almost the same as the opening paragraph of the one delivered at Baltimore eight years before. It continued:

"May Thy people always realize the truth of the inspired maxim that 'Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin maketh a people miserable.' May they realize and take to heart that if our nation is to be perpetuated in the exercise of authority with liberty, our Government must rest, not on formidable standing armies, not on dreadnaughts, for the 'race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong.'

"Grant, O Lord, that the administration of the new Chief Magistrate may redound to the spiritual and material welfare of the Commonwealth, to the suppression of sedition and anarchy; and to the strength and perpetuity of our civil and political institutions.

"I have been, O Lord, in my day, a personal and living witness of the many tremendous upheavals which threatened to rend the nation asunder, from the inauguration of thy servant, Abraham Lincoln, even unto this day. But Thou hast saved us in the past by Thy almighty power and I have abiding confidence that Thou wilt deal graciously with us in every future emergency.

"Grant that the proceedings of the convention may be marked by a wisdom, discretion, concord, harmony and mutual forbearance worthy of an enlightened and patriotic body of American citizens."

One of the public questions on which Gibbons took a pronounced stand in his later years was the retention of American sovereignty over the Philippines. In 1913, soon after Mr. Wilson's first term as President began, a bill which provided for Philippine independence was

strongly backed in Congress, and, for a time, seemed likely to pass. Gibbons had taken no public part in the discussion in 1898 as to whether the Philippines should be transferred from Spanish to American sovereignty, although, as we have seen, when President McKinley asked for his advice on that subject, he said that the transfer would be a good thing for the Catholic Church, but a bad one, he feared, for the United States. We have also seen how it was chiefly due to Gibbons that the vexing question of the Friar lands was settled and the status of the Catholic Church property in the Philippines and other islands acquired by the United States from Spain arranged to accord with American methods.

Once the islands were taken over, he was firmly of the opinion that they should be held until their people were fitted for self-government, and he was disposed to require distinct evidence to be given of such fitness before American supervision was withdrawn. In his view, American withdrawal would mean abandoning a helpless people to a capricious and ominous future.

On November 3, 1912, Gibbons was the guest of President Taft, at luncheon, when they discussed the question of the Philippines. Mr. Taft pointed out to him that while all the Democratic platforms since that of 1900 had declared for the independence of the islands, Mr. Wilson had not mentioned that subject in his speech accepting nomination. The President, who had been the first civil governor of the islands, and in whose judgment regarding them Gibbons reposed profound confidence, said that the Philippines were far from ready for independence, and that, if it were given to them, an oligarchy

of natives would control. He also expressed the view that in certain eventualities a foreign power might seize the islands.

Gibbons told the President that the Catholic Bishops in the Philippines were unanimously of the opinion that the people were not ready for independence. He concurred in this view, believing that a considerable period of further progress under the American flag was necessary before the question of full independence could be seriously considered.

After the bill had been introduced, Gibbons became the foremost influence in opposition to it. He took the ground that while a small proportion of the people of the islands were educated and fitted for the duties of citizenship at that time, the great majority were still in a rudimentary state of civilization, and many were almost barbarous. Early independence, he held, would lead to repeated revolutions and the springing up of ambitious and unscrupulous leaders, and eventually to anarchy. The result in that event, he was inclined to believe, would be that Japan would take possession of the islands.

Speaking to members of the Taft Cabinet, other officials of the Washington government and representatives of every nation of Central and South America, assembled at an official luncheon in Washington, November 29, 1912, Gibbons declared that in the Philippines the United States had a responsibility which it could not escape. He remarked:

"Happy for the United States, and thrice happy for the Philippines if the administration of affairs in the

islands in the future shall be in hands as capable as those of President Taft."

The editor of a Boston newspaper [3] having solicited from him a full expression of his views on the subject of the Philippines, he consented to give the interview, which was subsequently republished as a Congressional document on motion of Representative Kendall of Iowa, who, in proposing its publication, said: [4]

"Mr. Speaker, Cardinal Gibbons is not only a very distinguished prelate, but he is a very eminent statesman as well. He has had occasion to devote very deep and discriminating study to the subject of our relations to the Philippines, a proposition which will be one of difficulty and importance in Congress. Some time ago he submitted to an interview which is a contribution of peculiar value, in my opinion, to the American people. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by including it in the Record."

In that statement Gibbons urged that the Philippine problem was in no sense a partisan one, but belonged to the whole American people. He said:

"To its solution the best thought of the country should be devoted, and the efforts of our Government in that direction deserve the loyal support of all Americans without regard to creed, religious or political. The orderly progress and development of the Filipinos and their education in the difficult science of self-government under the wise and benevolent policy pursued by this nation since the American occupation is threatened by the proposal to commit the Government to abandon those islands

[3] The *Transcript.*
[4] *Congressional Record.*

at a fixed time in the future—and that only a few years away.

"I am irrevocably opposed to any proposal that would commit this nation to a scuttle policy in the Philippine Islands—to-day, to-morrow, or at any fixed time in the future—and I say this wholly in the interest of the social, material, and moral advancement of the people of the United States, of whom I am proud to be a fellow citizen, no less than of the Filipinos themselves.

"In the first place, I maintain that the Filipinos—the vast majority of them, at any rate—have never been consulted regarding their independence. The islands composing the archipelago number more than 3,000 and are widely scattered. The people of one island have little or no relation with the inhabitants of another. No attempt has been made to ascertain the views of these segregated groups upon the question, so vital to them, as to whether they shall be turned adrift to shift for themselves. There has been no plebiscite, and it would require days and weeks for them to gather and register their opinions on the subject.

"But even could it be demonstrated that a large number of Filipinos desired independence, in my judgment the inhabitants of those islands, as a whole, are utterly unprepared to shoulder the responsibility which independence would place upon them. Some authorities give the number of those capable of reading and writing as not more than 5 per cent, nor have more than 3 per cent an adequate idea of the duties required of those charged with self-government.

"Objection is raised against our continuing to rule a people 8,000 miles away. In answer I would say that when we acquired California in 1847 President Polk is said to have remarked that a territory so far removed from what was then the United States would be a doubtful possession. We know now how fallacious was his

reasoning. Although the Philippine Islands are so far removed from us geographically, it is easier for us to-day to reach Manila than it was sixty years ago to go from New York to San Francisco, and, in fact, it might be said that we are in hourly communication with the islands by cable.

"On many sides of us to-day we see republics torn with chronic revolutions—Liberia, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and last, but by no means least, Mexico. For those revolutions this nation is not responsible. I hold that it would be a grave mistake to add another to that group, and one for which as a nation the United States would be wholly responsible."

Gibbons was greatly relieved when he learned soon afterward at a dinner party in Washington that a sufficient number of senators was opposed to the bill for Philippine independence to prevent its passage. He continued to receive encouraging reports from Catholic prelates in the islands of the progress being made under American control. In the year following the defeat of the bill he was visited by Archbishop Harty, of Manila, who cheered him by saying that 400,000 children were then enrolled in the new insular schools.

The period of prolonged revolutions in Mexico, which followed the end of the Diaz régime, was a source of great distress to him because of the persecution of priests and nuns that accompanied it. So deeply was he moved that he issued two letters, one addressed to the priests, and the other to the laity of the archdiocese of Baltimore, asking them to pray daily during the entire month of May, 1914, for peace in that country. He went to New Orleans for a conference with Archbishop Mora y del

Rio, the head of the Catholic Church in Mexico, and they considered steps for the care of the priests and nuns who were fleeing to the United States to escape the worst brutalities, and even death, at the hands of various Mexican factions. In the following year he issued an appeal to the American Bishops in behalf of the refugees, saying:

"The Archbishop of Mexico has made known to me the great misery in which multitudes of Sisters and of mothers and children now find themselves on account of the revolution. Their condition is most pitiable, and no promise of immediate relief is found in Mexico itself. He implores us to come to their assistance. I communicated hurriedly with their Eminences, Cardinals Farley and O'Connell, who agree with me that an appeal should be made to the members of the Hierarchy on behalf of these sufferers.

"Were the condition less distressing and the act less exalted, I would not venture to take the step without first asking your advice as to the wisdom of it. There is, however, urgent need of immediate action. I ask you, therefore, in your charity and kindness of heart to take fitting steps toward raising funds for this purpose. I may say that a number of representatives of American public opinion, both in official and private life, who are well acquainted with conditions in Mexico, are most anxious that this be done."

He was in frequent correspondence with President Wilson and the State Department regarding the situation. While opposed to armed intervention, he felt that the influence of America should be continuously exerted to allay the atrocities in Mexico which accompanied the revolution. He pronounced Carranza and Villa "a disgrace to their country."

On November 19, 1914, he sent a letter to Archbishop Mora, in the name of the entire Hierarchy of the United States, deploring the hostility to the Catholic Church by the revolutionists and the persecution of priests and nuns, saying:

"In the United States, constitutional provisions safeguard both the stability of government and the liberties of the individual, not by hampering religion, but by allowing it the fullest freedom, or rather by protecting it in the enjoyment of that freedom which it has by right.

"The American people . . . will not, I am sure, deliberately assent to the establishment on their borders of a system of misrule, based on the worst of tyrannies—the tyranny of the State over soul and conscience."

A little more than a month after this appeal was sent out, he received a letter from the Archbishop of Oaxaca saying that Carranza had forbidden confessions and collections in the churches.

He continued to hope steadily that the right man or men would come to the front in Mexico and restore the country to the peace and prosperity which it formerly enjoyed. It was one of the solaces of the closing days of his life that conditions in that country had become greatly improved.

Continuing his efforts in behalf of international peace, Gibbons gave support to every arbitration treaty which was negotiated by the Washington government. In an address at the Third National Peace Congress held in Baltimore in May, 1911, he made an earnest plea for a treaty of that kind between the United States and Great Britain as a forerunner of similar conventions binding all

nations. The president of the Congress, in introducing him, characterized him as one of the most potent forces in the world for the abolition of war, and recalled the appeal issued by Cardinals Gibbons, Logue and Vaughan at Easter, 1896, as one of the chief contributory causes of the Hague Conference of 1899.

Gibbons lent the full weight of his influence to the overthrow of the Louisiana lottery, a gigantic scheme of licensed gambling which had long been an offense to the nation. Its power, derived from the laws of the State in which it was conducted, was fortified by organized corruption and for a time seemed impregnable. Able and devoted men undertook to crush it, but for years their efforts were futile. It appeased hostile opinion by giving large donations to charities, and obtained the services of Generals Beauregard and Early to supervise its drawings.

By a letter addressed January 11, 1892, to General George D. Johnston, of the Anti-Lottery Committee which was opposing a renewal of the charter by the State of Louisiana, Gibbons helped to turn the tide. He took the ground that the question of permitting the lottery to continue was preeminently one of morality and virtue. The practical working of the lottery, he showed, tended to enrich the few at the expense and misery of the many; to tempt the poor to squander their earnings "in the vain, delusive Tantalus-like hope of one day becoming the possessor of a winning number." This fever impelled many to thefts and other forms of dishonesty. He pronounced the lottery to be an enemy to the honor and peace of any community, to the happiness of the home, to individual thrift and enterprise, and vigorously called upon every

public-spirited and earnest Christian to aid in its suppression. The Cardinal wrote:

"Christian charity and natural philanthropy alike dictate that we remove from the unwary pitfalls of destruction and withdraw the innocent and weak from temptation. Those bent on suicide should be restrained. The burning fagot should be snatched from the child's hand. That the Louisiana lottery, as it is presented to us, proves a snare and a delusion to thousands, and is destructive to the peace of mind and energy of action so necessary to pursue honorable careers and properly to acquit one's self of life's duties, we can not doubt. The daily operations of the scheme make the point clear. Worthy, then, of praise and commendation are they who strive to quicken the public conscience and to array public sentiment against the continuance of the evil, who speak and labor in behalf of their fellow-men by seeking to remove from their midst a dire enemy of their manhood, their homes and their prosperity.

"Were the evil confined only to the State of Louisiana, I should refrain from giving expression to my sentiments; but since, like a giant tree, it has extended its branches over the entire land, embracing in the area of its operations Maryland and the District of Columbia, with which I am connected, I could not but raise my voice in protest, and in particular that our faithful people may help forward the good work of putting an end to its ravages."

The words of Gibbons were influential not only in the country at large, but directly in Louisiana, the home of his youth and where his family resided. He was venerated there as much as in Baltimore; and an aroused public opinion was sufficient to crush the lottery out of existence.

Throughout the nation there was a chorus of satisfaction that a contest so long and unceasingly waged had become victorious. The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, preaching in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, in the following month, expressed the view of Protestant crusaders who, like himself, had long been grappling with the monster. He exclaimed:

"I can not understand the folly of men who would blot out the Roman Catholic Church from this country. Thank God for Cardinal Gibbons! Long may he wear his red cloak and his red cap; and if there should be an election now, and you and I could vote, I would vote to make him Pope! His word, flung out with courage and with strong significance, has done more than any other word in this country, by press, by politician, or by preacher, to make the leaders of that Louisiana abomination call a halt, and, at least, pretend a retreat. God give us courage to turn it into a rout."

When the lottery took refuge in Honduras and illicitly carried on its operations in the United States, though in a much modified form, the Cardinal wrote another letter severely condemning it and expressing the hope that public opinion would stamp it out everywhere.

CHAPTER XLIII

PROHIBITION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The quality of Gibbons' moral courage was perhaps shown by nothing more strikingly than by his attitude on temperance and prohibition as to the use of liquor. Any consideration of his record on that question must begin with the fact that he was one of the most powerful individual forces for temperance. Over a very long period of years he made it a practise whenever he confirmed a class to request the boys to pledge abstinence from intoxicating liquors until they reached the age of twenty-one years. The aggregate of those who gave these pledges was many thousands. It was Gibbons' belief, based upon observation, that habits of intemperance were usually contracted in youth, when there were exceptional temptations, and that if this period could be passed safely there was less danger of drinking to excess.

Total prohibition of the sale of liquor by law in the nation or a State he regarded as impracticable and dangerous, but he was in favor of local option on the question. He declared publicly "that it is impossible to legislate men into morality." When the question of ratifying the prohibition amendment to the national Constitution hung in the balance, he expressed the hope that the members of State legislatures who were still to vote upon the question would not bow to "the fanaticism that seems

to be governing us in this respect." Some of the lawmakers seemed to him to be acting through cowardice, dreading the pressure exercised by propagandists for prohibition. Ratification of the amendment, he predicted, would be followed by the springing up of illicit stills in all parts of the country, and dangerous beverages made surreptitiously would be used in the place of beer and light wines. He added:

"Those favoring the amendment will not be satisfied with this victory, and they will try to impose other obnoxious laws upon us that will make our personal liberty worth very little."

He expressed repeatedly the conviction that prohibition could never be enforced, and that if enforcement should be attempted, it would make hypocrites and violators of the laws.

Declaring his opposition in 1916 to a State prohibition bill, then under consideration by the legislature of Maryland, he said to a delegation which called upon him:

"I believe that such a law is impossible of enforcement in a city of the size of Baltimore. A law of this kind interferes with personal liberty and rights, and creates hypocrisy in the people. The history of the world down to the present time demonstrates the fact that people always have indulged and always will indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors.

"It is true that the use of wines and liquors is often abused, as I know from a long observation in the ministry, yet the best of things are liable to abuse. What is more harmless, for instance, than the organ of the tongue? We all know the social and domestic joy and utility derived from conversation, and yet the bad use of the tongue

daily leads to lying and misrepresentation, to quarrels and slander, to bloodshed, and often even to murder.

"It is a favorite practise of some friends of prohibition to charge their opponents with being subsidized by the liquor interests; that is a most grievous charge, and often unfounded. But would we be justified in putting a padlock on our mouths because of the occasional misuse of the tongue? We should regulate the use of intoxicants as we regulate the use of our tongues, by proper safeguards and restraints.

"What I would recommend for Baltimore is high license, and laws connected with it rigidly enforcing the regulations for the conduct of saloons."

He lent his direct support to abolishing the saloons by means of local option in Charles County, Maryland, where the Catholic population was large. A statement which he issued while the question was being agitated there resulted in a large majority in the county against the continued sale of liquor. The statement was:

"I believe that the right of the people to determine by the operation of a local option law whether saloons shall or shall not be closed within their respective communities is in harmony with the American principle of self government and I congratulate the people of Charles county in that they will have the right to settle this question by ballot on May 16 next. Realizing the damage which has been done by the liquor traffic in this county, I sincerely trust that at the coming election they will banish forever the licensed saloon, as I believe that it will be to the best interests of their people."

Gibbons supported steps which were taken for instructing children in the schools regarding the effects of alcohol on bodily health and he encouraged the offering of prizes

for essays on that subject written by pupils in Baltimore.

He resisted all temptations—and they were great—to make uncharitable rejoinders to the attacks which were launched against him by some of the extreme advocates of prohibition. One of these attacks was in the form of an insinuation that he opposed the national prohibition amendment because the Maryland distilleries were "controlled or owned by Catholics." This was far from the mark, for an inquiry which was instituted showed that only five of the twenty distilleries in the State were so controlled or owned. In a letter to a friend, in the course of which he mentioned the refutation of this charge, he wrote simply:

"We must make ourselves heard touching our personal liberty." [1]

On the question of woman suffrage, as in regard to prohibition, he held to his own position despite prolonged and determined pressure to induce him to change it. He was opposed to general suffrage for women, but in favor of conferring municipal suffrage upon women who owned property. He based his stand upon the view that activity by women in politics would involve the risk of injury to their influence in the home. Speaking to members of the Catholic Women's Benevolent Legion [2] he said:

"You are the queens of the domestic kingdom. Do not stain your garments with the soil of the political arena. No man or woman can rule well over two kingdoms, and one should be enough for you. You rule the home, the

[1] Letter of January 29, 1919.
[2] May 20, 1920.

husband and the children, and should not attempt to dabble in politics. . . . Each of you has a special mission from God, and each must perform it individually. . . . Women are greater than men, more than priests, more than Bishops, in the power to develop the highest ideals as mothers, daughters and sisters."

He uniformly insisted that the Christian home was the cornerstone of the nation, and in numerous addresses exalted the Christian mother. In a sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral February 4, 1900, he said:

"I regard 'woman's rights' women as the worst enemies of the female sex. They rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender and attractive; they rob her of her innate grace of character, and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and brazen effrontery. They are habitually preaching about woman's rights and prerogatives, and have not a word to say about her duties and responsibilities. They withdraw her from those obligations which properly belong to her sex and fill her with ambition to usurp positions for which neither God nor nature ever intended her.

"Under the influence of such teachers, we find woman, especially in higher circles, neglecting her household duties, never at peace unless she is in perpetual motion or unless she is in a state of morbid excitement. She never feels at home unless she is abroad. When she is at home, the home is irksome to her. She chafes and frets under the restraints and responsibilities of domestic life. Her heart is abroad; it is exulting in imagination in some social triumph or reveling in some scene of gayety and dissipation.

"Her afflicted husband comes home to find it empty or occupied by a woman whose heart is empty of affection for him. She is ill at ease. Hence arise disputes, quar-

rels, recriminations, estrangements, or the last act of the drama is often divorce! I speak with sober truth when I affirm that for the wrecks of families in our country woman has a large share of the responsibility.

"Where will woman find the charter of her rights and dignity? In the Gospel. The Catholic Church, following the teachings of the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul, proclaims woman as the peer of man.

"Christian women, when your husbands and sons return to you in the evening after buffeting with the waves of the world, let them find in your homes a haven of rest. Do not pour into the bleeding wounds of the heart the gall of bitter words, but rather the oil of gladness and consolation."

Delegations of woman suffragists made numerous efforts to win him over to their side, but without avail. A number of them who engaged in a march from New York to Washington in February, 1913, as a means of attracting attention to their cause, contrived to obtain an audience with him by appearing at his residence in one of his daily periods for public reception and entering without formality. Gibbons received them as he received other callers, with winning cordiality, and they could pluck up courage to do nothing more spectacular in the course of their visit than to present an equal suffrage flag to him.

He feared that if the mass of women participated actively in politics there would be an aggravation of what he considered to be one of the greatest evils in America—divorce. In sermons and public addresses he frequently warned of the increasing number of divorces, with the tendency to undermine family life. Writing in the

Delineator, a journal for women, in July, 1907, he expressed himself thus:

"The reckless facility with which divorce is procured in this country is an evil scarcely less deplorable than Mormonism. Indeed, it is in some respects more dangerous, for divorce has the sanction of the civil law, which Mormonism has not. Is not the law of divorce a virtual toleration of Mormonism in a modified form? Mormonism consists in a simultaneous polygamy, while the law of divorce practically leads to successive polygamy. . . . It is plainly manifest that the cancer of divorce is rapidly spreading over the community and poisoning the fountains of the nation. Unless the evil is checked by some speedy and heroic remedy, the existence of family life is imperiled."

In a letter addressed to the "Congress of Mothers" in Washington, May 1, 1911, the Cardinal expressed his general views of the duties of women in the world. He wrote:

"The home is the primeval school. It is the best, the most hallowed and the most potential of all academies, and the parent, especially the mother, is the first, the most influential and the most cherished of all teachers.

"For various reasons mothers should be the first instructors of their children.

"*First*—As nature ordains that mothers should be the first to feed their offspring with corporal nourishment of their own substance, so the God of nature ordains that mothers should be the first to impart to their little ones 'the rational, guileless milk of heavenly knowledge, whereby they may grow into salvation' (1 Peter II. 1).

"*Second*—The children that are fed by their own mothers are usually more healthy and robust than those

that are nourished by wet nurses. In like manner, the children that are instructed by their own mothers in the elements of Christian knowledge are commonly more sturdy in faith and are more responsive to the call of moral duty than those who are committed for instruction to strangers.

"*Third*—The progress of a pupil in knowledge is in a great measure proportioned to the confidence he has in his preceptor. Now, in whom does a child place so much belief as in his mother? She is his oracle and prophet. She is his guide, philosopher and friend. He never doubts what his mother tells him. The lesson he receives acquires additional force because it proceeds from one to whom he has given his first love, and whose image in after life is indelibly stamped on his heart or memory. Mothers, do not lose the golden opportunity you have of training your children in point of morals while their hearts are open to drink in your every word.

"*Fourth*—You share the same home with your children. You frequently occupy the same apartment. You eat at the same table with them. They are habitually before your eyes. You are, therefore, the best fitted to instruct them and you can avail yourself of every little incident that presents itself and draw from it some appropriate moral reflection."

He denounced the laxity of the laws in some of the western States which permitted "divorce colonies" to spring up there, saying:

"The ease with which divorces may be obtained in some of our States is nothing less than criminal. One of the favorite grounds in these days is what is called 'incompatibility of temper.' A wife may burn a pan of biscuits. The husband chides her. Miserable little biting words fly from their tongues. There is never a thought of for-

bearance on the part of either. There is never a thought of the children. Only the selfish pride of the parents is considered, and presently there is an action brought for divorce. Incompatibility of temper! Bah!, I say to the laws which permit such things. They affront God and every one who fears Him."

His sympathy went out warmly to the children of divorcees. In a sermon he said:

"I can conceive no scene more pathetic, nor one that appeals more touchingly to our sympathies than the contemplation of a child emerging into the years of discretion seeing her father and mother estranged from each other. Her little heart is yearning to love. She longs to embrace both her parents; but she finds that she cannot give her affection to the one without exciting the resentment or displeasure of the other." [3]

Gibbons' voice was raised earnestly against "race suicide," to which attention was vigorously called by Mr. Roosevelt while serving as President. The Cardinal considered this to be a certain sign of national decay unless it were arrested. In a letter to the Baltimore *Sun*, October 18, 1907, he wrote:

"Marriage, according to the Christian dispensation, is not intended for self-indulgence, but for the rearing of children in the knowledge and fear of God, who will fulfill their every obligation as individuals and as members of the social body, and prepare themselves for the eternal society of their Divine Master and His faithful servants. Its duties, properly fulfilled, develop in the highest degree self-denying, unfailing, courageous devotedness in the individual; and, consequently, in the fam-

[3] Discourses and Sermons, pp. 523–524.

ily, the strong and tender bonds that hold its members in undying fidelity and love. . . .

"It is a great mistake to suppose that the two or three children of the small family, who receive all the advantages and all the indulgences that their parents can bestow, are going to become the best men and women. There is a discipline and a training in the large family, where the feelings and rights of others have constantly to be reckoned with, which is much more effective in preparing the right sort of men and women to meet the conditions of real life. Those thus reared will not so easily be found among the hordes of lazy, self-centered donothings, who are of no good to church, or to society, or to themselves.

"The race has not improved, but has suffered disaster in both nations and communities, where the procreation of children has not been looked upon as a matter far too sacred and momentous to be left to the control of individual appreciation of its manifold and perplexing problems. The accidentally occurring case of exceptional hardship for the mother, where physical health is gravely compromised, has been made far too much of. All important general laws bear hard at times upon the individual."

After the woman suffrage amendment was adopted, Gibbons called it a "plunge into the deep," but he publicly recommended that all women, in compliance with its spirit, should register and vote. He went so far as to urge Sisters of the orders in the Church to vote, saying that it was a duty which belonged to them in common with all other members of their sex.

CHAPTER XLIV

WIDE SCOPE AS CITIZEN

Gibbons contributed to the cordiality of relations between the United States and the States of Latin America by instituting in Washington an annual Pan-American Thanksgiving celebration in the form of a Mass, which was usually attended by a number of members of the Cabinet and almost the entire diplomatic corps from the republics of the Western hemisphere. Presidents were accustomed to be present at this Mass at least once and sometimes oftener in the course of their terms of office. The service was held at St. Patrick's Church, and after it there was a luncheon in the rectory, at which speeches were made tending to conserve the concord among the countries represented.

On these occasions, Gibbons usually spoke, edifying his hearers with discourses which brought home to them the responsibility which the diplomatic representatives of States bore in promoting international friendship and the adjustment of disputes by peaceful means. In his address at the luncheon following the Thanksgiving Mass in 1913, he emphasized the fact that the annual celebration was not a form of participation by the Church in affairs of state. He said:

"Critics have taken exception to this celebration on account of its quasi-official nature, expressing the belief

that we aim at union of Church and State. An old Scotchman said to another: 'Sandy, Sandy, honesty is the best policy. I know, because I've tried both.' The Church has tried both union of Church and State and the independent cooperation of Church and State, and she knows the results of both."

The last President of the United States with whom he came in contact while in office was Wilson. When Harding was inaugurated he was near the last stages of his fatal illness, but he planned a visit to the new President at the White House as one of the first things which he would undertake in the event of his recovery. He had become acquainted with Harding while the latter was a United States Senator from Ohio, but Wilson had been in public life for only a comparatively short period previous to 1912 and Gibbons had not known him personally.

On October 17 of that year, when it appeared that Wilson's election to the Presidency was certain, the Cardinal took occasion to compliment Mrs. Wilson by a personal call upon her while she was on a visit to Baltimore. She was the guest of Mrs. William M. Ellicott, a non-Catholic who was active in social-service work, in some of whose charitable undertakings the Cardinal had cooperated actively. Mrs. Ellicott invited him to meet Mrs. Wilson, and he accepted the invitation with pleasure, engaging in a cordial conversation with the wife of the future President.

His first visit to Wilson was on April 8, 1913, a little more than a month after the inauguration. The President had just returned to the White House after delivering in person his first message to Congress. When salutations

CARDINAL GIBBONS OFFERING PRAYER AT THE PRESENTATION OF A SWORD TO ADMIRAL DEWEY, OCT. 3, 1899

President McKinley and the Admiral Are the Other Two Figures

had been exchanged, Gibbons remarked that he had never seen Wilson before. The President quickly replied: "I have seen you," explaining that he referred to the time when he had been a student at the Johns Hopkins University and had observed with something of a sense of distant awe the figure of the Archbishop in the latter's daily walks about the streets of Baltimore.

On the occasion of this visit, Gibbons entered into no intimate discussion of public affairs with Wilson, intending merely to convey his respects, for he wished all of the Presidents to have personal evidence of the loyalty to the constituted authorities of his country which lay so close to his heart. What that loyalty meant, Wilson had abundant and intimate reason to know later when, during the ordeal of the World War, Gibbons was one of the strongest influences in bringing out the full national support of the administration which was essential to success.

Among Gibbons' numerous friends in public life was Admiral Dewey, the victor of Manila. When President McKinley presented to Dewey, October 3, 1899, a sword which had been voted to him by Congress, the Cardinal pronounced the benediction at the close of the ceremony.

One of the most thorough of the many replies which the Cardinal made to the charge brought by some against Catholics that their religious faith was incompatible with loyalty to American institutions was in an article contributed by him to the *North American Review*. In this he said that Catholics in the United States had "undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It

never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief which all their experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country are bound together in their hearts."

He stated with complete frankness in the article even the most odious of the charges brought against Catholic loyalty and replied to them. As to the Pope and political affairs in the United States, he wrote:

"But an objection is repeatedly cast up to Catholics which, repugnant though it is to my inmost feelings of loyalty and reverence towards the Holy Father, I must take into consideration; for utterly impracticable and absurd as it is in our eyes, it seems to haunt the minds of many outside the Church. Suppose, it is said, the Pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters, should not Catholics be bound to yield him obedience?

"The Pope will take no such act, we know, even though it is a part of Catholic faith that he is infallible in the exercise of his authority; but were he to do so he would stand self-condemned, a transgressor of the law he himself promulgates. He would be offending not only against civil society, but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as His own. Any Catholic who clearly recognized this, would not be bound to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law which under no circumstances can we ever lawfully disobey.

"Some controversialists in this country, gravelled for matter of complaint against the Papal dealings with America, have invented the fable that Pius IX recognized the Southern Confederacy. Of course the facts refute them, as the Pope merely extended to Mr. Jefferson Davis the courtesy which one gentleman owes another of ad-

dressing him by his official title. They cling to the serviceable fable; and proceed to shudder at the thought of what might have happened if, in the crisis of our Civil War, the President had been a Catholic.

"Let me relieve them by stating what would have occurred. A Catholic President would act, under the circumstances, precisely as Abraham Lincoln; he would treat the recognition with a respectful silence, and continue to prosecute the war to the best of his ability. If he acted otherwise he would be a traitor to his conscience and his God, to his country and to the Constitution which he had sworn to uphold. And he would have Catholic theological teaching at his back."

At the dedication of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, April 30, 1903, Gibbons delivered the invocation, imploring the Divine Power that "this vast territory which was peacefully acquired a hundred years ago may be, for all time to come, the tranquil and happy abode of millions of enlightened, God-fearing and industrious people, engaged in the various pursuits and avocations of life. As this new domain was added to our possessions without sanguinary strife, so may its soil never be stained by bloodshed in any foreign or domestic warfare. May this commemorative exposition to which the family of nations are contributing their treasures of art and industry, bind together the governments of the earth in closer ties of fellowship and goodwill, and of social and commercial intercourse."

On the day before the dedication, the Cardinal presided at a public debate on questions of theology at the Catholic University of St. Louis, which is directed by

the Jesuit Fathers. President Roosevelt sat beside him on that occasion.

Almost from the beginning of his labors as a Bishop, Gibbons was active in missionary efforts in behalf of the negroes. He wished the Church to put forth the strongest influences that would help them in their struggle upward. His vigorous efforts helped to prevent the enactment of a separate coach law applying to railroads in Maryland, and on another occasion he aided in the defeat of a bill requiring the separation of the races on the street cars of Baltimore.

Negroes appreciated his benevolent interest in them. This was expressed by a colored city councilman of Baltimore, Harry S. Cummings, in a letter addressed to the Cardinal on his seventy-ninth birthday, from which the following are extracts:

"Regardless of race, creed or condition, the oppressed of this land rightly look upon you as their true friend, and therefore as one whose long life and continued service are a matter of the deepest concern and of earnest prayer. You will therefore permit me, as an humble representative of my race in this city, knowing as I do their sufferings and their hopes, their heart beats and their yearnings, their eternal gratitude and devotion to you regardless of their religious leanings, to congratulate you on this the seventy-ninth anniversary of your birth, and assure you that our sentiment is a reflex of that of the more than 10,000,000 negroes in this land."

In an article in the *North American Review* for October, 1905, the Cardinal pronounced lynching "a blot on our American civilization." He traced the evil to its

source by pointing out the difficulty and, at times, the impossibility of securing the prompt trial and punishment of offenders under the criminal laws which prevailed in a number of States. Revision of these laws in the interest of speedy and effective justice and their impartial enforcement he considered a sovereign remedy for the trouble.

A few years previously he had commented on recent race troubles in the South as follows:

"In the history of mankind it has been observed that when two distinct races have coexisted in the same territory, one race has always exercised a certain supremacy over the other. While this principle is admitted, it is the manifest duty of every patriot, statesman and Christian to see that the relations between the races should be friendly, harmonious and mutually beneficial. The race conflicts, antagonism and bloodshed which have recently occurred in several States of the Union can be largely traced to two great causes—the one-sided and ill-directed system of negro education and the consequent abuse of the ballot-box.

"The colored race is naturally kind and gentle, affectionate and grateful, with religious emotions easily aroused. But the education which it is generally receiving is calculated to sharpen its mental faculties at the expense of its religious and moral sense. It fosters ambition without supplying the means of gratifying it. It feeds the head, while the heart is starved. No education is complete that does not teach the science of self-restraint, and that is found only in the decalogue and the Gospels.

"The abuse of the ballot-box is chargeable more to white demagogues than to the blacks themselves. The politicians use the negro vote for their own selfish pur-

poses. I am persuaded that a restriction of suffrage by a property qualification would be a wise measure." [1]

So continuous and powerful were Gibbons' efforts in behalf of both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the negroes, that Booker T. Washington spoke of him in an address in Baltimore as "America's foremost champion of the colored people."

On several occasions Gibbons opposed restricting immigration by means of a broad educational requirement. In June, 1906, he wrote to President Roosevelt that such a law would turn back much immigration that was desirable.

When the movement was renewed in Congress in 1915, he sent a letter to a mass meeting in Baltimore held in opposition to it in which he set forth the reasons for his stand. He declared that the proposed law "would bar the ingress of great numbers of desirable prospective citizens, who, though unable to read or write our own language, may be fairly well educated in their own, and, at least, may possess health, strength, virtue, good sense, business ability and a desire to succeed with high honor."

He continued:

"If this literacy test had been applied in the seventeenth century some of those who came over to Plymouth on the *Mayflower* and to Maryland on the *Ark* and *Dove* would have been politely informed that they were undesirable persons and positively requested to return to the shores whence they came.

"What would this country have amounted to as a

[1] Baltimore *Sun*, November 26, 1898.

nation had its founders immediately after the Revolution closed its portals to honest but illiterate immigration? Many of the nation's greatest men in every field of service were immigrants or the sons of immigrants. We still cherish the hope that this is 'the land of the free and the home of the brave,' and the refuge of those honest and virtuous men and women who conscientiously believe the land which gave them birth does not give them the rights or advantages that good men crave to live peacefully and well."

He protested on several occasions against the persecution of Jews in Europe. While such persecutions were in progress in Russia he wrote the following letter:

"BALTIMORE, December 15, 1890.

"DEAR MR. HARTOGENSIS:

"Every friend of humanity must deplore the systematic persecution of the Jews in Russia.

"For my part I cannot well conceive how Christians can entertain other than kind sentiments toward the Hebrew race when I consider how much we are indebted to them. We have from them the inspired volume of the Old Testament, which has been the constitution in all ages to devout souls; Christ Our Lord, the founder of our religion; His Blessed Mother, as well as the Apostles. These facts attach me strongly to the Jewish race. . . .

"I am yours very sincerely,

"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

In another letter he wrote that he did not credit for an instant the charge that Jews had committed murders in Russia in order to obtain blood for ritual purposes.

He was opposed to confounding Sunday with the Puritan Sabbath. When a movement for stricter Sunday observance was started in Baltimore, early in 1900, he

expressed his views vigorously. "The Christian Sunday," he said, "prescribes the golden mean between rigid Sabbatarianism on the one hand, and lax indulgence on the other. Rigorously enforced laws would cause a revulsion of public feeling and the pendulum would oscillate to excessive laxity."

Sunday he defined as a day for joy, adding:

"It is a day when we are exhorted to be cheerful without dissipation, grave and religious without sadness or melancholy. We should remember that the Sabbath was made for the man, and not man for the Sabbath; that it is a day consecrated not only to religion, but also to relaxation in mind and body. My idea of the Lord's Day is expressed in these words of the psalmist: 'This is the day which the Lord made; let us rejoice and be glad therein.' "

In a sermon on Sunday observance [2] he gave this illustration:

"A pious Puritan lady was in the habit of locking up her little boy's hobby-horse, his toys and playthings on the Lord's Day, and he was required to spend a large part of the day in religious reading. To encourage her son, she would say to him: 'My boy, if you are good, Heaven will be for you a perpetual Sabbath.' But the felicity which his mother held out to him did not appeal to his imagination, ambition, or judgment, and when he grew up he discarded the practise of religion altogether."

With President Roosevelt and John Mitchell, the labor leader, the Cardinal attended an open air mass meeting of the United Mine Workers and the Catholic

[2] Delivered in the Baltimore Cathedral; January 4, 1914.

Total Abstinence Union at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., August 10, 1905. More than 100,000 persons were present and the speeches were intended in part to promote better relations between labor and capital in the coal mining region. The Cardinal, addressing the immense crowd, said:

"The members of society are as closely bound together as the members of the human body. I care not whether a man possess the wealth of a Rockefeller, a Vanderbilt or an Astor, what will his wealth avail him if he has no friend to grasp his hand? What would it avail any man to own all the coal mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia if there was no hardy son of toil to dig the coal and transport it to the centers of commerce?"

His sympathies were warmly enlisted in the fight against the ravages of tuberculosis. In October, 1907, he addressed a letter to the secretary-general of the International Congress on Tuberculosis, which was held in Washington in the following year, expressing the belief that the disease would ultimately be brought under as complete control as yellow fever, from which he had been a sufferer in his youth in New Orleans.

There was no more rigorous critic of faults in American life than Gibbons—faults in politics, in social conditions and in business life. In a sermon [3] he condemned extravagance in living and business dishonesty, saying:

"There is another form of dishonest life far more common and reprehensible . . . I refer to the pernicious habit of living above one's means. In fact, this vice may be considered as characteristic of Americans. Our coun-

[3] Discourses and Sermons, pp. 490–491.

trymen are fond of making money, but they are still fonder of squandering it. It has been said with truth that a French or German family can subsist on what is wasted by an American family.

"One of the causes of this fatal extravagance is the love of self-indulgence and the ambition of keeping pace with our neighbor in the race for social distinction. I am envious of my neighbor when I observe that he keeps a splendid equipage; that his house is elegantly furnished; that he fares sumptuously; that he entertains lavishly; that his wife is dressed in the latest fashion, and I am determined not to be outdone by him. I enter upon a career of prodigality totally disproportionate to my income. But in a few years I find myself overwhelmed with debt and on the road to bankruptcy. I have been burning the candle at both ends. I have been squandering my present income, and have been mortgaging my future revenue.

"The man who lives beyond his means is not leading an honest life. My young friends, you who are on the threshold of a business career, practise a rigid economy. Live within your income, no matter how modest that income may be.

"Save up something for a rainy day. This is more easily done than you imagine. Where there is a will there is a way. The wants of nature are few and are easily supplied. Sweeter to your palate are bread and water in a garret, when you are free from debt, than is a delicious feast to the spendthrift who is tortured by the spectre of the creditor knocking at his door. While the insolvent debtor is a slave, you will possess a free and independent spirit and will enjoy the testimony of a good conscience."

In an article on "Patriotism and Politics," in the *North American Review* for April, 1892, he actively ranged

himself on the side of those who were trying to stop the ballot frauds which prevailed in many States. He emphasized that when the fountains of legislation were polluted by lobbying and other corrupt means, when the hand of bribery was extended to municipal, State and national legislatures, when lawmakers became the pliant tools of selfish and greedy capitalists, then, indeed, patriotic citizens had reason to be alarmed about the future of the country.

He wrote:

"Let the buyers and sellers of votes be declared infamous, for they are trading in our American birthright. Let them be cast forth from the pale of American citizenship and be treated as outlaws."

He cooperated in curbing the sweatshop evil. After a careful investigation, he said in a sermon that he had discovered in Baltimore that sweatshop workers received "starving wages," and that the result was that in a few years they became incapacitated. As practical remedies, he urged agitation of the question and pleas to the humanity of employers themselves. He even advocated discrimination by purchasers in favor of establishments which "treat their employees with justice and charity." The Cardinal commended by name the Consumers' League, an organization of women who were engaged in combating the sweatshop evil, and urged cooperation by all in its efforts.

After a prize fight in 1910, there was a wave of protest throughout the country against the exhibition in theaters of motion pictures reproducing its details. Gibbons spoke with vigor on the question, saying:

"If the pictures of this contest were permitted, I am sure hundreds of children would see them, and what would be the result? Their morals would not only be contaminated, but they would have the wrong ideal of a true hero. After seeing the pictures a boy would naturally infer that the real American hero was a man bespattered with blood and with a swollen eye given him by another in a fistic encounter. The boy would go and try to do likewise. This would be a sad state of affairs. There are true heroes whom the young can emulate in a way to improve their manhood and ideals."

He was opposed to the principle of national ownership of public utilities. In an article in the *Outlook* in 1917 he gave the caution: "Do not nag the railroads." He pronounced the American roads much more efficient than those of Europe, and expressed the hope that they might continue in private ownership in order to ward off the danger of a centralized power in the body politic composed of railroad officials and employees.

Roosevelt once said that there was a lack of candor on the part of public men in the United States; that there was only one man who had the courage to speak the truth under all circumstances and that man was Cardinal Gibbons. The Cardinal spurned the spread-eagle type of ostentatious patriotism, which blinds itself to national defects in dwelling upon the other side of the picture. But never once in the voluminous record of his public utterances did he express doubt that evils of all sorts from which the United States suffered would be overcome. In the long processes of political and social development his confidence, as he said repeatedly, was in the "intelligence and patriotism of the American people."

In order that intelligence and patriotism might not fail of full effect, they must be exercised through active participation by the individual citizen in public affairs. No one set more conspicuously than he this example which he exhorted his fellow-countrymen to follow.

CHAPTER XLV

STRESS OF THE WORLD WAR

Cardinal Gibbons was within a month of being eighty years old when the flame was kindled at Sarajevo that spread until it had set all Europe in a blaze of war. In little more than a week after his birthday the German armies were streaming across the border of Belgium. He had been too practical to cherish dreams of a serene and unclouded old age, but the convulsion of the nations shocked him more than it did most men, because it meant the failure, at least temporarily, of his protracted efforts in behalf of world peace by the arbitral settlement of international disputes.

For his own country he had thought that he saw comparative safety in following the counsel of Washington to avoid entanglements with Europe, so far as they involved participation in offensive or defensive alliances that contained within themselves the seeds of war; but the project of international cooperation in steps for the prevention of war seemed to him to be the best means at hand during his lifetime for giving effect to what Washington had sought.

On the day when he learned that Germany had declared war on Russia, and that the great nations of Europe would inevitably be drawn in, he said:

"It is dreadful. I had hoped and prayed that such a war might be averted. The misery and the sufferings that will result from it will be almost unfathomable. . . . I had hoped against hope in the last few days that something would arise to prevent such a blight."

No American was more grieved than he at the depths of suffering into which Belgium was plunged. His ties with that country and its royal family had been close and had been renewed only a month before the war broke out, when he had dined with King Albert in the palace at Brussels, and Queen Elizabeth had visited him in Switzerland. He had defended the government of Leopold, the predecessor of Albert, from the charge of maladministration in the Congo State, though he had not attempted to exert any influence in regard to the international aspects of that controversy which threatened for a time to assume a serious form. The destruction of Louvain University, where so many Americans had received higher training for the priesthood, moved him profoundly.

He accepted the honorary presidency of the Central Committee of the Belgian Relief Fund, which was formed in America to aid women and children made destitute in the martyrdom of their country. Mercier, the hero Cardinal of Belgium, his long-time friend, soon learned of the powerful help given by Gibbons in the raising of funds for relief, and began a correspondence with him which continued throughout the war. Gibbons remarked that "too much cannot be said in praise of the heroism of the little nation and its King," adding:

"Had Belgium acquiesced in the demand of Germany, and permitted the free passage of the German armies,

they would have marched straight to Calais and dictated terms to the world. If the Allies should prove victorious, to Belgium should be restored fourfold what she has sacrificed."

The death of Pius X on August 20, 1914, which was due in large part, perhaps even wholly, to the shock caused by the outbreak of the war, caused Gibbons to hasten to Rome. Pius had been crushed by a realization of the fact that the religious forces of the world were helpless to check the progress of the unexampled strife. In one of his last moments he said:

"In ancient times the Pope by a word might have stayed the slaughter, but now he is impotent."

Again he remarked as death seemed at hand:

"I begin to think, as the end is approaching, that the Almighty in His inexhaustible goodness wishes to spare me the horrors which Europe is undergoing."

Gibbons, who had visited Rome only a few months before, retraced his journey in an effort to arrive in time for the conclave that was to elect a successor to the See of Peter. On the day after the death of Pius, he sailed from New York for Naples with Cardinal O'Connell. Cardinal Farley, the third American member of the Sacred College, was then in Switzerland.

Despite his eighty years, there was a suggestion in several quarters that Gibbons might be supported for the supreme Pontificate. When the matter was mentioned in his presence, he remarked that he "preferred to be an American Cardinal."

Gibbons and O'Connell arrived in Naples on the morning of September 3. A few hours after they set foot on land, and before they could reach the Eternal City, Cardinal della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, was elected Pope, taking the name of Benedict XV. The vote of Cardinal Farley had prevented America from being unrepresented in the conclave. Gibbons was one of the first persons outside of that gathering to greet the new Pope, who had had occasion in former years to learn of the real reach of his influence through having been secretary to Cardinal Rampolla. Benedict was being robed in his new white cassock when the American Cardinal arrived, the conclave not having been dissolved.

At Benedict's invitation, he remained in Rome for a short time and visited the Pope twice for consultation. Nine days after his arrival he sailed for home, reaching Baltimore September 24. Upon his return there he said:

"Thank God that amid the horrors of war I find here our country enjoying the blessings of peace. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the rulers of our nation who have persistently refused to draw the sword, even under provocations at times trying."

Four days later, opening a convention in Baltimore of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, he prayed for peace, asking that Divine guidance be given to President Wilson and the administration. The President having requested general prayers for peace on October 4, Gibbons issued a circular to the priests of his diocese in which he said:

"In compliance with the edifying invitation of the President, you are hereby directed to signalize Sunday,

the fourth day of October, with some special prayers of devotion directed to Almighty God, to obtain from Him the blessings of peace for the warring nations of Europe, and in your sermon on that day you will urge upon your people to pray for the same holy intention in their private devotions at home."

In the first few months of the war, Gibbons saw nothing that Americans could do to avert the fate which was overtaking Europe, except to pray for peace and to assist those made homeless by the conflict. As it seemed to him, there were two great influences which in some way might become effective later in ending the slaughter. These were the Holy See, which implored peace by the best practical means that could be found by statesmen, and the United States, which, being then in a detached position, might find an opening for the exercise of its good offices. What that opening might be, he could not see; still he hoped that it would be disclosed. As a general course of action for Americans, he advised prudence and calmness in speech and action.

He was moved to emphasize his exhortation to calmness when the news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* reached him. He said:

"I feel the greatest horror over this tragedy—so many women, children and other non-combatants losing their lives. The American people must be calm and prudent. It is best to leave the destinies of the nation in the hands of the President and the government. Popular sentiment is not a standard to be followed too hastily. The calm deliberation of our national executive will lead to the best solution. In the meantime the thing for the people to do

is to ask Almighty God in fervent prayer to guide our government to the best and wisest solution."

He urged "trust in God, in His wisdom, His justice and His love," saying:

"While we cannot understand His thought, we may be sure that for some good reason He has permitted this dreadful strife. God is the moral ruler of the nations and while the human mind shrinks appalled at the destruction of life and property, we can still believe that out of it good will come to the world when nations shall have been humbled for their pride, their desire for conquest and their forgetfulness of the higher things. Then, in their humiliation, when they have learned that it is not by might, nor armies, nor cannon, nor rifles that nations come to truest greatness, the world will see how He has made even the wrath of man to praise Him."

He continued to hope that America might escape being drawn into the conflict. After the torpedoing of the *Arabic*, he said:

"I feel that the loss of a few lives on the *Arabic* compares as a feather when weighed against the awful calamity of war. If war comes, it will mean more than the loss of a few lives. . . . Our best men will be sacrificed. I hope that the people will consider this well before they act."

When, soon after the *Arabic* incident, Germany gave a definite promise to the United States to modify her methods of submarine warfare, Gibbons became the medium of communications between Pope Benedict and President Wilson in regard to steps which might be taken to bring the conflict to an end. The position of the Papacy had been well known from the beginning, and

Benedict was now convinced that, as President Wilson had shown to both groups of belligerents the fairness and goodwill of the American government, he was in a position to address them with some authority in a manner which might ultimately lead to a settlement without prolongation of the bloodshed. For his part, the Pope expressed his readiness to give the whole support of the Catholic Church to the person, institution or country that undertook the "noble mission of ending the war."

Gibbons called upon President Wilson September 2, and they discussed the entire situation, after which he conferred with Secretary Lansing at the State Department. He engaged in a general discussion with both officials as to the prospects of effective action for peace. It appeared, however, that neither of the belligerent groups was willing to invite the United States, even informally, to intervene, and that nothing which would have any important result in that direction could be undertaken at the time. There was accomplished, however, through the medium of Gibbons, a full understanding between the Vatican and the White House as to the position of both regarding the outlook, and while Gibbons still cherished the hope that some action in behalf of peace might be taken, he was under no illusion that it was possible to attain that before one of the warring groups had been reduced to greater extremity than was the case then.

A little later [1] he expressed the view that there was as yet no prospect that the United States would be drawn into the war. He said:

[1] November 16, 1915.

"I am not in favor of preparedness for war, and neither am I in favor of peace at any price. . . . What have we to fear? The nations of Europe are exerting their physical and financial strength, and not one of them is anxious to cope with a new foe. They do not seek conquest on this side of the world. Rather are they anxious to attain friendly relations with this great nation. Therefore I see no reason why we should fear hostilities."

He rebuked those who asserted that the war indicated failure on the part of Christianity, saying:

"Christianity is not an issue in the war, because those who entered the war are not following the teachings of Christ. He taught peace on earth. . . . Had the nations followed the teachings of Christ, there would be no war today."

He was one of the first to call attention to the fact that the war was turning men's minds to religion. Late in 1915 he said:

"A tremendous religious reawakening all over Europe is already beginning to show. Particularly is this true in France and Germany. Men are coming to realize the need and comfort of religion."

He refused to associate himself in any way with the movement of Henry Ford, which resulted in the sending of an unofficial American peace mission to Europe. Ford called upon him in Baltimore and outlined the plan to him but was unable to alter the Cardinal's view that it would be ineffective. When the League to Enforce Peace was formed, however, he saw in it at least the germ of a practical idea, and wrote thus to its head, ex-President Taft:

"The plan is a sane one, for it does not make the mistake of disregarding the fact that human nature in the future will be very much the same as today and yesterday. The passions of men cannot be wholly eliminated. The same is true of their weaknesses; but much could be done to curb the one and strengthen the other." [2]

The accumulating complications of the war that involved America caused Gibbons at last to accept reluctantly the view that his country could not escape participation. His thoughts then turned to preparation for the emergency which he regarded as almost inevitable. On his eighty-second birthday he declared for universal military training to "safeguard the nation, build up its manhood, and fuse its foreign strains." He said:

"The camp schools make a man stronger and broader. They make him more patriotic and more fit physically, morally, socially and intellectually. They take him from the passions of vice and sin. They throw him in touch with men of other circumstances, from other places. They make him feel that there is something out there in the nation which demands his loyalty and service. They bring the rich man and the poor man together on an equal footing, and teach them that they owe an equal allegiance."

His conviction that America must meet the shock deepened fast, and when the final steps were taken that pledged the nation on the side of the Allies he was fully prepared. On April 6, the day when the Congressional resolution was passed declaring that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany, the Cardinal

[2] May, 1916.

said that "there must be no shirkers." He expressed his complete readiness to support his country in any way and urged Catholic young men to enlist, saying:

"In the present emergency it behooves every American citizen to do his duty and to uphold the hands of the President and the legislative department in the solemn obligation that confronts us. The primary duty of a citizen is loyalty to his country. This loyalty is manifested more by acts than words; by solemn service rather than empty declamation. It is exhibited in absolute and unreserved obedience to his country's call.

"Both houses of Congress, with the executive, are charged and sworn to frame those laws that are demanded by the present crisis. Whatever, therefore, Congress may decide should be unequivocally complied with by every patriotic citizen. The members of both houses of Congress are the instruments of God in guiding us in our civic duties. It behooves all of us, therefore, to pray that the Lord of Hosts may inspire our national legislature and executive to frame such laws in the present crisis as will redound to the glory of our country, to righteousness of conduct, and to the future permanent peace of the nations of the world."

Under the leadership of Gibbons, the Catholics of the United States were the first religious body to pledge their full and active support to the government. On April 18, twelve days after the declaration of war, the Archbishops, on his proposal, adopted the following resolution at their annual meeting held at the Catholic University in Washington:

"Standing firmly upon our solid Catholic tradition and history, from the very foundation of this nation, we affirm in this hour of stress and trial our most sacred and

sincere loyalty and patriotism toward our country, our government, and our flag.

"Moved to the very depths of our hearts by the stirring appeal of the President of the United States, and by the action of our National Congress, we accept whole-heartedly and unreservedly the decree of that legislative authority proclaiming this country to be in a state of war.

"We have prayed that we might be spared the dire necessity of entering the conflict, but now that war has been declared we bow in obedience to the summons to bear our part in it with fidelity, with courage and with the spirit of sacrifice which as loyal citizens we are bound to manifest for the defense of the most sacred rights, and the welfare of the whole nation.

"Acknowledging gladly the gratitude that we have always felt for the protection of our spiritual liberty and the freedom of our Catholic institutions, under the flag, we pledge our devotion and our strength in the maintenance of our country's glorious leadership in these possessions and principles which have been America's proudest boast.

"Inspired neither by hate nor fear, but by the holy sentiments of truest patriotic fervor and zeal, we stand ready, we and all the flock committed to our keeping, to co-operate in every way possible with our President and our national government, to the end that the great and holy cause of liberty may triumph and that our beloved country may emerge from this hour of test stronger and nobler than ever.

"Our people, as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism and their service new admiration and approval.

"We are all true Americans, ready as our age, our ability and our condition permit, to do whatever is in us

to do for the preservation, the progress and triumph of our beloved country.

"May God direct and guide our President and our government, that out of this trying crisis in our national life may at length come a closer union among all citizens of America and that an enduring and blessed peace may crown the sacrifices which war inevitably entails."

Gibbons sent the resolutions the next day to President Wilson, who responded in a letter in which he wrote:

"The very remarkable resolutions unanimously adopted by Archbishops of the United States at their annual meeting in the Catholic University on April 18th last, a copy of which you were kind enough to send me, warmed my heart and made me proud indeed that men of such large influence should act in so large a sense of patriotism and so admirable a spirit of devotion to our common country." [3]

The measure of the response brought forth by this attitude of the leaders of the Church in America may be gathered from the fact that Secretary Baker later estimated the number of Catholics in the military and naval service at approximately one third of the total, although Catholics formed but one sixth of the population.

From that moment until the war closed Gibbons, in all his public utterances that related to the supreme effort which America put forth, exhorted the fullest support of the public authorities. In an address at the commencement of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, on June 19, 1917, he told the graduates that the United States had entered the conflict against Germany for prin-

[3] Letter of President Wilson to Cardinal Gibbons, April 27, 1917.

ciples based upon the solid foundation of justice and righteousness, saying:

"We have not entered the terrible struggle simply for the glory that is in it; we have a nobler and a higher motive. God will guide our armies in the field and bring them to victory, because we are on the side of right. No standing army or superdreadnaught ever put together can win a war for any other cause."

Herbert Hoover conferred with Gibbons soon after the declaration of war regarding the conservation of the food supplies of the country, soliciting his aid in the steps which the government was about to take with that end in view. The Cardinal promptly sent a letter to the priests in his archdiocese, urging them to impress upon their congregations the need of saving food as a factor in bringing victory.

The Knights of Columbus were among the first organizations which took effective action both for sustaining the general war measures of the government and for helping the soldiers and sailors called for service. The directors of that order, at a meeting in Washington April 14, passed resolutions declaring that "the crisis confronting our country calls for the active cooperation and patriotic zeal of every true citizen." They reaffirmed "the patriotic devotion of 400,000 members of this order in this country to our republic and its laws," and pledged their "continued and unconditional support of the President and the Congress of this nation in their determination to protect its honor and its ideals of humanity and right." President Wilson, in a letter of acknowledgment, pronounced this support "most enheartening."

The Catholic Young Men's Union also undertook active work in support of the government. The Rev. John J. Burke, editor of the *Catholic World*, founded the Chaplains' Aid Association, whose object was to supply a sufficient number of Catholic chaplains for the soldiers and sailors and to assist them in their work.

As Father Burke proceeded with his undertaking, he perceived the need of a more coordinated organization for marshaling the Catholics of the nation for the war. He laid before Cardinal Gibbons the project of calling a general meeting of Catholic societies for the purpose of unifying the war work. Gibbons asked him to consult Cardinals O'Connell and Farley, and if they concurred in his program to take the necessary steps for holding the meeting as soon as possible. The three Cardinals were unanimous as to the necessities of the case.

At a meeting held August 11 and 12 at the Catholic University, at which were present representatives, both clerical and lay, from sixty-eight dioceses in the United States, and representatives of many Catholic organizations, the National Catholic War Council was formed to assist the government by unifying all Catholic war activities, by the establishment of local boards for the same purpose in each diocese, and, acting through the Knights of Columbus, by giving support to the welfare work for the soldiers in the camps. Father Burke was elected the first president of the council.

That body proceeded with its task in full cooperation with the numerous non-Catholic organizations having the same objects in view which sprang up out of the general patriotic outburst of the people. It had been supposed at

the beginning that $1,000,000 would be sufficient for its needs, but so greatly did its operations expand that nearly $50,000,000 were required in the end.[4]

As the fast-spreading activities of the council emphasized the need of a still more compact organization, Cardinal Gibbons addressed a letter to the Hierarchy early in November, proposing the formation of a new National Catholic War Council to be composed of the Archbishops. This letter embodied a decision taken at an informal discussion by the prelates who had attended a meeting of the Catholic University trustees. In his letter, Gibbons set forth that it was their unanimous opinion that the Hierarchy should act in concert in the support of the government during the war; that the responsibility of taking the lead rested upon the Board of Archbishops, and that they should organize without delay as a Catholic War Council, associating with themselves a number of the Bishops for the active execution of the general plan. He added that the war "puts to the severest test not only our spirit of zeal, but our ability to organize and, with new difficulties, all realize that the situation demands the best thought and the best efforts of us all."

Responses to Gibbons' letter were unanimously favorable. On December 19 he sent a second letter to the Archbishops, proposing that as they could not meet as frequently as the situation demanded, the active management of the War Council's activities should be intrusted to a committee of Bishops. This plan having been approved, an administrative committee[5] of Bishops

[4] Michael Williams, *American Catholics in the War,* pp. 113, *et seq.*
[5] The members of this committee were the Rt. Revs. P. J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford, Chairman; Joseph Schremos, Bishop of Toledo;

was appointed. Gibbons called together the members of this committee in a letter dated January 12, 1918, defining their work as the direction and control, with the help of the American Hierarchy, of all Catholic activities connected with the war. Father Burke was appointed chairman of a committee on special war activities.

The War Department of the federal government was quick to realize the potent help which could now be obtained by calling upon the Catholic forces of the nation through the agencies thus set up. In the unexampled efforts which were put forth by the American people as a whole to assist their government and minister to the spiritual and material welfare of the soldiers and sailors, the National Catholic War Council bore a distinguished part.

Gibbons, as president of that Council, as well as in numerous other capacities, became the greatest individual force, outside of a small circle of men holding high public offices, in sustaining the government during the war. His more than eighty years appeared to sit lightly upon him when he was called upon to respond either by deed or word to the needs of the nation in its supreme effort. On his birthday in 1917 he gave the following message to those about to enroll themselves for the immense army that was then forming:

"Be Americans always. Remember that you owe all to America, and be prepared, if your country demands it, to give all in return."

Patrick J. Hayes, then Auxiliary Bishop of New York, and William T. Russell, Bishop of Charleston.

He wrote to President Wilson on October 1 of that year, deploring excessive criticism of the war policies taken by the government, saying:

"In these days of the gravest problems which have ever weighed upon our American government, our thoughts go out to the chief executive, warmed by heartfelt sympathy for the heavy burdens of office which he must bear, and freighted with the unwavering determination of loyal citizens to stand by him in his every effort to bring success to our armies, and to achieve those ideals of justice and humanity which compelled our entrance into the war."

The President replied to him in terms of deep appreciation.

In a sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral on Sunday, October 28, Gibbons urged all to pray for the United States and to give complete support to the government. He said:

"The paramount duty of American citizens in the present crisis is a hearty and loyal obedience to the constituted authorities. Be slow to criticize. Remember that you view the subject from one angle. Your rulers contemplate it from various angles. They have lights and sources of information that are closed to you.

"Your judgment of the administration and your criticism of their official acts should be always subordinated to a generous and whole souled submission to their rulings. It is theirs to command; it is yours to obey, and in manifesting your loyalty to your country you will be pursuing a sacred and honorable course, and will be following the invariable traditions of your fathers from the foundation of the republic.

"Do not attempt to snatch faded laurels from the

brows of your fathers. Let your own heads be crowned with fresh garlands. Say not like the Jews of old: 'We have Abraham for our father.' Say not, 'We are the political children of Washington and the religious children of Carroll.' It will profit you nothing to possess their creed if you do not practise their civic and religious virtues."

He continued to defend the justice of America's cause. On December 19, he issued a statement that in entering the war "we took the only course open to us," adding:

"As an evidence of the righteousness of America's cause in the war, I would point to the patience of our President and Congress under the long series of grave injuries and broken pledges endured by the United States during the time when Germany was professing friendship for us. We were shocked to see our property unjustly destroyed in vast quantity, but what was immeasurably more serious was to read of our men, women and children killed in violation of the universally accepted customs of the sea.

"When, at length, not only American citizens but neutrals everywhere suffered appallingly under the cruelties of a nation which hesitated not to disregard international law, we learned that patience was being construed as cowardice, and that it was folly to hope that wiser councils would prevail among our enemies to bring about a change in their lawless policy. Then we took the only course open to us, the defense of our sovereign rights, as a nation upholding the ideals of truth and justice in the hearts of all peoples.

"We have entered the struggle with a clear conscience, seeking no territorial or financial gain, but the peace of the world, the liberty of its people and the security of all nations."

Meanwhile Gibbons freely lent his immense influence to the stimulation of war activities not directly connected with the policy of the government or with naval and military operations. He encouraged the women to give their active help to their country, and in an address to the Baltimore Catholic Women's War Relief Organization, late in 1917, suggested that the needle might even prove to be mightier than the sword, saying:

"The sword is a weapon of destruction; the needle is an instrument of construction. . . . While you are seated over your work and while your busy hands are plying the needle, let your hearts expand in sympathy for the loved ones who are so far away, and let your lips whisper a prayer that they may return safe to their beloved ones at home."

He issued several urgent appeals in the course of the war for the support of the American Red Cross. To the pupils of the Catholic schools, he made an especial request to enroll as junior members of the Red Cross, declaring that "in this time of peril our country needs the services of the children as well as of the adults."

It being desired that coal miners should work on holy days and legal holidays, in order to keep up the country's supply of fuel, the help of Gibbons was asked. In a letter to Fuel Administrator Garfield, he urged that the miners should work on such days until the coal scarcity was over. He wrote:

"It will be an invaluable service to the country and to humanity if they (the coal miners) will work regularly and avoid unnecessary loss of time, for every ton of coal which they place at the disposal of industries contributes

toward the success of the nation in the titanic struggle on which we have entered."

On January 12, 1918, he issued an appeal in behalf of the war thrift campaign, saying:

"The door of opportunity to serve our country is flung wide open for practically every man, woman and child by the sale of War Savings Stamps. . . . I earnestly commend to young and old, and more particularly to parents, this simple and easy method of acquiring the habit of thrift. We have reached a time when no loyal citizen of our country can afford to spend a dollar for wasteful luxuries. Such an expenditure resolves itself into a disloyal act. . . .

"I urge upon our clergy and our parochial schools to aid in every way in the purchase of war savings stamps. For the help it gives to our country's cause, for the good it will be to those who take such steps, may this movement carry its patriotic and practical mission to every nook and corner of the nation."

Preaching at the Baltimore Cathedral on Sunday, February 14,[6] Gibbons declared that the German war aims would fail. After emphasizing that the "spiritual republic" founded by the Apostles without the sword had endured, he continued:

"What does this prove? . . . It proves that all schemes conceived in passion and fomented by lawless ambition, of which the present world-wide war is a striking illustration, are doomed like the mountain torrent to carry terror before them, and to leave ruin and desolation after them, while the mission of men laboring under the inspiration of heaven is destined to shed blessings around them and to bring forth abundant fruit in due season.

[6] 1918.

Let us earnestly pray that our brave young soldiers who are now in the trenches, or who are preparing to go there, may be preserved in their faith and morals from the dangers that surround them, and that they may heroically fulfil their mission."

From time to time, as the war progressed in intensity and the sufferings which it brought were deepened, the Pope was condemned in some quarters for not having taken a pronounced stand in regard to the conflict at its outset. Gibbons, in an article in *America*, the Jesuit Weekly,[7] defended the course of Benedict XV. He showed that it was not Benedict but Pius who was reigning when Belgium was invaded in 1914, and that Pius was already in the shadow of death; that Benedict had strongly reprobated the violation of Belgium, had protested to Russia against the violence to persons and conscience in the early occupations of East Prussia and Galicia, and had labored for prisoners and the war crippled and blind. In this article Gibbons wrote:

"It has been said again and again that Benedict XV has forgotten Belgium, that he did not speak up for her in her hour of betrayal by the superior forces of her invaders. When Benedict XV came to the throne Belgium had already been invaded by the German armies and a considerable part of her territory overrun. The flagrant injustice had already been committed.

"When the invasion took place the saintly Pius was already in the shadow of death. On coming to the throne the new Pope did not wait long to let the world know of his sentiments with regard to the violation of Belgian territory. He spoke at first with prudent circumspection,

[7] February, 1919.

for not all the facts were in his possession. But he soon learned the truth and acted conformably to it.

"According to the letter written by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, to M. van der Heuvel, Belgian minister to the Vatican, 'the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, carried out by Germany, on the admission of her own chancellor, contrary to international law, was one of those injustices which the Holy Father in his consistorial allocution of January 22 strongly reprobated.'

"His Holiness also protested to Russia against the violence to persons and to conscience displayed during the early occupation of East Prussia and Galicia, and against the harsh treatment of Monsignor Szeptycki, the venerable Archbishop of Lemberg. He has labored for the prisoners of war, for the crippled and the blind of the war's countless battlefields. Not once has he forgotten that he is the father of the faithful.

"His conduct toward the Italian government has been marked by such a spirit of conciliation, justice and absolute impartiality that high government officials have praised him and those under his jurisdiction. The silly and cowardly slanders recently brought against his patriotism by radicals are so gross as not to deserve a refutation.

"The Holy Father has faced a terrible ordeal. He is facing it still. On all sides he is surrounded by pitfalls. Every act of his is watched, scrutinized, by jealous, critical, hostile eyes, only too ready to find fault and to register blame. More than ever he needs the support of his loyal children.

"The Roman Pontiffs of the past have ever found in American Catholics a whole hearted devotion. We are not going to fail our Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV, in this supreme hour. For all that he has done so nobly and so unselfishly for the cause of peace and humanity

his faithful children here in the United States, for whose people he has more than once expressed his admiration and love, are profoundly grateful.

"Though at war in order that all the peoples of the earth may be really free, we wish with him that a just peace may soon be gained. For that peace he has nobly and generously striven. Men may not now realize the extent and the nobility of his efforts, but when the voices of passion are stilled history will do him justice.

"As a last word I beg to congratulate my countrymen on the generous ardor with which they have rallied to the support of our beloved President in his dark hour of trial. He has striven for high ideals and has found a reward in an enthusiastic response from his fellow citizens. They have not failed him and will not do so in the future, but will continue to give him and his colleagues that loyal support which is an earnest of complete victory and of a return of the happy peace for which he and the Holy Father are laboring each in his own sphere."

Benedict XV pronounced Gibbons' defense to be the best exposition that had been given of his difficult position. So much impressed was he with the article that he ordered it printed in many languages and distributed. It was a forecast of the vindication that came to Benedict after the fiercest passions of the war had cooled.

In the campaigns to obtain subscriptions to the Liberty Loans, Gibbons' help to the government was invaluable. He himself declared that he had invested in these loans "every cent at my command." All funds entrusted to him for general uses were, so far as it was proper to do so, invested in the same way. In a public appeal which he issued in behalf of the third Liberty loan, he implored

Catholics to "come to the front now and give, give and give, until there is little left in the purse."

For an army and navy edition of the New Testament, issued under the patronage of the Hierarchy for distribution to the armed forces of the nation, he wrote a preface from which the following is an extract:

"Called by the President, as the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the nation, to the service of your country, love for its soil and its people must necessarily be the mainspring of all your military activities. In these respects, Christ, our Lord, is your example. He loved His native land, for He sanctified it by His presence; He consecrated it in His precious blood, and He illuminated it by the glory of His resurrection. He loved his people. . . . As the sorrow and suffering of Good Friday were followed by the joy and triumph of Easter morning, may you who now 'sow in tears' later 'reap in joy.'"

In the same preface he exhorted obedience to superiors and fortitude in meeting the duties and dangers of war.

He cheered the "war mothers" in a letter read at a mothers' mass meeting in Baltimore (May 11, 1918) in which he wrote:

"Every day news comes to us of our boys, both at home and abroad, freely giving themselves to the cause of liberty and justice, determined to endure all things —yea, if need be to die in defence of what they deem holy and right. But what of the mothers of these boys? It will not be disputed that their self-sacrifice is the harder, their offering the more noble. Like that other mother who stood on Calvary and saw her Son die that men might live, the mothers whom you honor today suffer quietly, patiently and willingly. . . . May God bless

these mothers and give strength and courage to their hearts."

President Wilson having proclaimed Memorial Day, May 30, 1918, a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting "beseeching Him that He will give victory to our armies in the fight for freedom," Gibbons sent to every Catholic pastor in his diocese a letter ordering services to be held in accordance with the proclamation, and enclosing a copy of it. In this letter he directed the priests "to have a Mass celebrated on May 30th to place before God those lofty Christian prayers of sorrow for our failings, and petitions for our pressing needs, so admirably voiced in the recent proclamation of our President."

The degree of support which hundreds of thousands of Americans of foreign birth gave to the country in its time of supreme trial greatly heartened Gibbons, as well it might, for no one had been more instrumental than he in making that condition possible by his struggle against the introduction of foreign influences in the Catholic Church in the United States. In July, 1918, he publicly expressed his satisfaction at the demonstration of loyalty by all elements of the population, and urged that the use of the English language be made obligatory in schools, because "language is the great assimilator." He added:

"Teach the children of our foreign born the English language in our schoo's, and they will absorb the principles and traditions of our race."

In the tense days during which the American armies were driving forward along the Marne and the Meuse in the final struggle of the war, he continued to take advan-

tage of every opportunity to hold up the hands of the government in the manifold activities to which its great efforts had given rise.

On the day before the armistice was signed, when it was evident that the allied armies had conquered, he preached to soldiers at Camp Meade, Maryland, calling upon them to thank God for the victory. He saw the fulfilment of his trust in the spirit with which his country had embarked in the struggle, saying:

"We have conquered because we believe that righteousness exalteth a nation. We have conquered because we believe in justice and humanity. We have conquered because we have fought for the eternal principles of truth and because we realize that our hope and our dependence, our trust and our success, repose in Him who is alike the God of battles and of justice."

CHAPTER XLVI

AFTER THE ARMISTICE

Throughout the war Gibbons had been guided by the promise made by the Hierarchy soon after America entered the conflict. With the coming of peace he felt that the promise had been fulfilled. He wrote:

"That promise meant the consecration in patriotic service not only of our priests and of our religious, but also of our laymen and laywomen; it meant not only one organization, but every organization; not only one source of support within the command of the body Catholic but chaplains in the service; men in the army and navy, trained Catholic men and women who would devote themselves to all the men of the service; the support of government appeals by our Catholic parishes; the erection of the huts and visitors' houses within the camps here; of service clubs in the cities; of welfare work both at home and abroad. . . . The National Catholic War Council united in patriotic effort all Catholic organizations. . . . It has brought into national expression the Catholic principles of justice and of fraternal service that bespeak the continued prosperity and happiness of America as a nation." [1]

During the period that ushered in the Paris peace conference, he cherished hopes of a blending of Benedict XV's Christian efforts for a permanent pacification of

[1] Preface by Cardinal Gibbons to Michael Williams' *American Catholics in the War.*

the world and the idealism with which President Wilson invested the preliminary discussion of terms. He was in correspondence with Mr. Wilson and, when the President went abroad for the conference, with the intention also of visiting the principal Allied countries, he wrote urging that a visit to the Pope be included. The letter was:

"November 27, 1918.

"*To the President of the United States.*

"My dear Mr. President:

"I thank you very much for your courteous reply to my last letter. I have taken the liberty of transmitting your letter to the Holy Father, as I know it will be a consolation to His Holiness.

"The Holy Father has, both in letters and in private conversation, so often expressed his great admiration for and confidence in you, that I have taken it upon myself to do also what has long been in my mind, which is to make the following request of you: I know that it will give the Holy Father increased confidence and courage to know that you are going to be present at the Peace Conference, for, as you will remember, in the last message that I had the honor to convey from His Holiness to yourself, the Holy Father expressed to you his conviction that all humanity trusted to your ability and impartiality. I have since learned that while you are abroad you will visit Italy and I take for granted that you will go to Rome, and this brings me to the point of my request:

"My dear Mr. President, as an American as well as a Catholic, as one who is bound to you by the bonds of patriotism as I am bound to the Holy Father in the bonds of religion, I ask you in the strongest and most affectionate manner of which I am capable not to leave Rome without paying a personal visit to the Pope. I ask you to do this not only because it will be a great consolation

to the Holy Father, who so admires and trusts you, not only because it will bind the hearts of Catholics to you forever, but because it will delight the hearts of all good men, who whether they agree with the Holy Father in religion or not, at least recognize him as the representative of the greatest moral authority left in the world, and because you, Mr. President, in the opinion of all men, are the one who raised the late war from the plane of national jealousies into the plane of idealism and made it a conflict and a struggle for justice, for righteousness, for liberty and for nothing else. I say, then, that it will give delight to all men of good will to know that you have not disregarded or slighted the representative of the moral order.

"I feel sure that I have only asked you to do what you have already determined in your heart to do, but which I felt it was nevertheless my duty to put before you.

"I am, my dear Mr. President, with sentiments of the highest esteem,

"Very sincerely yours,

"J. Card. Gibbons,

"*Archbishop of Baltimore.*"

President Wilson visited Benedict XV on the fourth of the following January, when they had a full exchange of views on the overwhelming concerns of the world which engrossed both of them.

Gibbons issued a fervent appeal for the Victory Liberty Loan in April, 1919, saying:

"The Liberty Loans, which came to broaden the vision, were providential. A nation always generous, but sometimes thoughtless, even in its generosity; a nation which had preserved the ideals of the fathers of the country, but had wandered far from their examples of frugality and thrift, again expressed its patriotism by showing, in

a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, that citizens who had never learned to save for themselves, could save and deny themselves for America. . . .

"Work for the Victory Liberty Loan. If this involves sacrifice, glory in the sacrifice, with knowledge that character is built on sacrifice, and by character America shall be made more truly great with each succeeding year."

Always looking ahead, Gibbons turned at once to the problems of reconstruction. He no more lacked faith in the successful working out of those problems than he had lacked faith as to victory when America entered the war. In a Christmas message [2] calling upon all to rejoice over peace, he said that he saw no danger to the country in the period of reconstruction. He trusted the intelligence and common sense of the mass of the American workingmen, and believed that the war would leave no great problem of labor. Neither did he fear a Socialist wave, believing that the workers in the United States could not be won to that cause. He added:

"The only apprehension I might have would be with regard to the consolidation of control of the great public interests of the country in the authorities of the government itself."

This was an allusion to the railroads, telegraph lines and other public utilities which had been taken over by the government for the purpose of more effective prosecution of the war and which were subsequently returned to their private owners, as Gibbons had hoped.

He favored a firm policy toward Communists and other extreme radicals who became active in the United

[2] 1918.

States soon after the conclusion of the war, in sympathy with the Bolsheviki of Russia. On December 29, 1919, he said:

"If the members of the Red organization do not like this country, let them go home. If they do not go, then we will have to send them there. They came here to become future citizens, not to be dictators. We cannot let them become dictators.

"The foreigners who come to our shores have every opportunity to earn an honest living. Their environments here are much better than they had at home, and the authorities give them every assistance possible to make them useful citizens of this grand country.

"The laws here are not as hard to obey as those with which they had to contend in their former countries, but the foreigners must remember that the laws of this country must be obeyed by them, the same as our own people must obey them. They cannot tell the authorities here how to run the country."

In a New Year message to the public, which he was asked to give at the opening of 1920, he emphasized the same thoughts, saying:

"All are now faced with the important mission to denounce and discountenance the Bolsheviki and radicals, whose aim is to undermine the principles of our institutions and to substitute anarchy for law."

When Cardinal Mercier came on a mission to extend the thanks of Belgians for the help which they had received from Americans in their hour of bitter trial, he was the guest of Gibbons in Baltimore, where those two giants of the Catholic faith exchanged felicitations upon

CARDINAL GIBBONS ON HIS 85TH BIRTHDAY

In the garden of the residence of T. Herbert Shriver, Union Mills, Md.

the happy outcome. The Belgian Cardinal expressed his deep gratitude at a meeting held in that city, at which he was presented to the audience by Gibbons as "an ardent patriot and fearless champion, who vindicated and upheld the honor, sovereignty and independence of his country at the risk of death itself."

Later, when King Albert visited the United States, Gibbons was his guest at an official dinner in Washington. The Catholic University conferred a degree upon the king and Gibbons presided at the ceremony, which was attended by the élite of Washington. On the same day he presided at the conferring of an honorary degree by Trinity College upon the Belgian Queen Elizabeth.

While the war was in progress he had set on foot a collection among the Catholic parishes of the country in favor of the Catholic universities of Louvain and Lille, sorely tried by the strife. The amount obtained was about $100,000 and was evenly divided between those institutions.

While Gibbons did not doubt that the problems of reconstruction would be solved without grave danger to American institutions, he emphasized that the help of all was needed for that purpose. The National Catholic War Council, when the conflict had ended, turned its attention as soon as possible to reconstruction plans and in time was transformed into the National Catholic Welfare Council for dealing with the problems of peace.

At a meeting at the Catholic University in September, 1919, presided over by Gibbons, the Hierarchy adopted a pastoral letter, the first since the Third Plenary Council in 1884, which was sent out over his signature and read

from every Catholic pulpit in America. The letter set forth:

"We entered the war with the highest of objects, proclaiming at every step that we battled for the right, and pointing to our country as a model for the world's imitation. We accepted therewith the responsibility of leadership in accomplishing the task that lies before mankind. The world awaits our fulfillment."

As to reconstruction, the letter declared that it would be an error to assume that the issues involved were purely economic, as they were at bottom moral and religious. It was urged that factions and elements should not fail to realize that the people as a whole had a prior claim to consideration. The supposition so much encouraged by radicals that class was naturally hostile to class was combated as a grave error. Not only were the obligations of capital and labor mutual, but their needs and interests were mutual also. The moral value of man and the dignity of labor were emphasized. The letter proceeded:

"The right of labor to a living wage, with decent maintenance for the present and provision for the future, is generally recognized. The right of capital to a fair day's work for a fair day's pay is equally plain. To secure the practical recognition and exercise of both rights, good will, no less than adherence to justice, is required. Animosity and mistrust should first be cleared away. When this is done, when the parties meet in a friendly rather than a militant spirit, it will be possible to effect a conciliation.

"We are confident that the good sense of our people will find a way out of the present situation. As the con-

fusion occasioned by war subsides, calmer judgment will prevail. Men will see that internal peace and the cooperation of all classes must be secured if our country is to enjoy prosperity at home and respect abroad. America's great opportunity must not be sacrificed to selfish aims or partisan interests. We made war upon greed and selfish ambition. We shall not let them triumph within our own borders.

"Catholics will do their full share toward the complete restoration of peace. With one mind and heart they will labor for our country's advantage. As their patriotic efforts were united to such good effect through the National Catholic War Council, we have determined, for the ends of peace, to maintain the spirit of union and coordination through the National Catholic Welfare Council. Under its direction our needs and problems in the several fields of education and social reform will be carefully studied. Means will be taken to secure and publish correct information on all matters affecting the Church and Catholic life. The work of our organizations will be developed and directed toward the fuller attainment of Catholic aims."

In his New Year sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral, January 3, 1920, Gibbons compared America's aid to Europe during and after the war with the deed of the Good Samaritan. He said:

"Has not America played the part of the Good Samaritan during the late world war? Have not the American people been Good Samaritans to prostrate and bleeding Europe? Has America not aided those who were largely of a different race, language and religion?

"America has poured her treasure in abundance into the lap of Europe. She sent cargoes of provisions to the starving people. At this very moment, according to infor-

mation furnished me by Mr. Hoover, America is daily supplying one or two meals to more than 3,000,000 children in Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland.

"She has sacrificed her sons on the altar of patriotism that they might free them from the yoke of bondage.

"All this she has done without demanding or expecting compensation. She has not asked for a dollar of money or an inch of territory or an ounce of provisions for all her outlay. The only remuneration she has is the testimony of a good conscience and the sense of complacency in the example of disinterested patriotism which she has exhibited to the nations of the world."

Gibbons added that "the brightest page" in the history of the war to be chronicled by historians would be the record of "the part which America performed in the triumph of justice and humanity and her successive efforts that liberty should not perish from the earth."

He lent the weight of his influence to the appeals that were made in behalf of different classes of war sufferers. In a message to one of the officials of the Near East Relief, he said:

"The appalling tales of massacre and famine (in that region) appeal to humanity, and so I cannot urge too strongly the duty of immediate relief. It is a duty that rests upon every Christian people, and our country cannot fail to recognize and heed it."

He urged fervently the giving of assistance to those in Poland who had been reduced to want by the conflict. The peace-time program of the American Red Cross was warmly supported by him. He declared that it was

"perhaps less dramatic than that of war-time, but none the less glorious in its spirit and object."

Pope Benedict transmitted a special letter[3] to Mr. Hoover, through Cardinal Gibbons, giving his endorsement to the European Relief Council, which collected a large fund in the United States for helping starving and sick children in Europe.

In October, 1920, Gibbons declared his support of the League of Nations, holding that its principles were in accord with the encyclical of Benedict XV urging "that all States, putting aside mutual suspicions, should unite in one league, or rather in the family of the peoples, calculated both to maintain their own independence and safeguard the order of human society." He expressed his views in a statement which was widely circulated, of which the following are extracts:

"What I most like and highly value about the proposed League is first the delay which it imposes upon any and all nations—you must not rush headlong into this thing in which we all run the danger of being involved. We say you must be frank, open and above board, you must place your plans before the world, and they must and shall be carefully weighed. In my judgment, this single new world regulation will reduce wars to a minimum. Second thought and careful consideration of steps to be undertaken is imposed, and on second sober thought, few will draw the sword.

"And then I like and value that phrase and declaration, that it is the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international

[3] December, 1920.

peace or good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

"It shall be the 'friendly right'—I like that immensely. In the next decade—better in the next ten months—I hope it will become the friendly right and the inevitable duty for all nations to combine for the preservation of peace. How often would wars have been avoided if in the past we had acted in this way and under these prescriptions! How often it has been our thought to speak to a sister nation asking that conditions which are fraught with danger to the peace of the world and which threaten our brotherhood should be removed and we have desisted because, in diplomatic language, that would have been an unfriendly act!

"I like the plan for delay. I like the solemn agreement for the prevention of international war which the covenant stands for and for which His Holiness, the Pope, expresses his warm approval. So with the great disaster behind us, although we still sit in its dark shadow, we should be, and I believe we are, determined to safeguard the order of human society which is in danger, to maintain the independence of the peoples within their just borders, and to reduce, if we cannot wholly abolish, the burden of military expenditure.

"Sitting as a council of brethren, with the shadow of the great catastrophe still upon us, we should, and I have no doubt we will, draw nearer to one another and take up, in a fraternal spirit, seriatim, those vexed questions that still remain and which are a grave menace to the fellowship of the forward looking, God fearing, God loving nations. These questions still threaten the peace of the world—that peace whose blessings we are just beginning to enjoy again. The world is very anxious, very weary."

His confidence in the stability of America found new

expression October 29 of the same year, in a sermon delivered at the Baltimore Cathedral a few days before the presidential election. Taking for his text "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation," he said:

"There are some despondent, illboding prophets who are in the habit of predicting the overthrow of our country. They tell us that the only way to avert this dire catastrophe would be the election of their favorite candidate. These prophecies are made most frequently on the eve of a presidential election, like the present moment. I have been listening to these forebodings for the past sixty years.

"But in every instance, so far, the American people wake up in the morning after the election to discover that they were disquieted by false alarms and that the people were attending to their affairs and the Government was transacting its business as tranquilly as if no election had taken place.

"From the foundation of our republic over a century and a quarter ago, our Federal Union has passed through a series of ordeals and upheavals which were well calculated to test the strength and endurance of any nation in the world.

"If I were asked on what grounds do I base my hopes that our system of government will endure, I answer that I rest my hopes on the enlightenment and patriotism of our citizens, the foreign born as well as the natives, for many of our adopted citizens who have groaned abroad under the heel of autocratic despotism appreciate all the more the blessings of constitutional freedom which they here enjoy and will never surrender these blessings without a struggle. I place my hopes in the wisdom of our statesmen and in the valor of our soldiers. And surely we have strong grounds for our reliance on the military

prowess of our army and navy from the records of the late war.

"If the American Republic will survive, it must rest upon a stronger foundation than the patriotism of its citizens and the wisdom of its statesmen and the valor of its soldiers. It must rely upon a more impregnable force than standing armies and dreadnoughts. The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. If our republic is to endure it must rest upon the eternal principles of justice, truth and righteousness and downright honesty in our dealings with other nations. It must rest on a devout recognition of an overruling Providence that has created all things by His wisdom, whose searching eye watches over the affairs of nations and of men, without whom not even a bird can fall to the ground."

CHAPTER XLVII

CHARACTERISTICS AS A PREACHER

It is Sunday morning. Every seat in the pews of the Baltimore Cathedral is filled. In the unusually wide aisles, characteristic of Cathedrals, almost as many more are standing. To be present is a coveted privilege. Perhaps one half, certainly one quarter, of the crowd are non-Catholics. It is difficult to detect who are Catholics and who are not. All seem to be equally attentive and reverent. It is the atmosphere of an assemblage unique in America, perhaps anywhere in the world.

At one side of the sanctuary, upon his episcopal throne, sits a slender man whose countenance denotes a combination of benignity and strength. The impression of him grows on the observer. He wears the blood-red robe of a Cardinal. Eyes are centered upon him. His expression is serene. His movements are graceful. When he walks he seems to glide, almost as if he were flying.

It is not alone that he is a Cardinal which causes the congregation to rivet its attention upon him in the intervals of the service. An indefinable influence, seemingly of what has been called personal magnetism, proceeds from him. Every motion that he makes is watched with intense, fascinated interest. His devotional spirit spreads to others. Without speaking a word to them directly, he is master of them.

Now the time for the sermon arrives. Gibbons—for it is he—rises. With the gliding motion of which his easy movements give the appearance, he proceeds to the pulpit and ascends the steps slowly. For the first time, the many strangers in the congregation have a full view of him. His face appears to be very pale in contrast to his red robe. It is a face worthy of study under any conditions. The features are clear-cut, almost as if shaped by a sculptor seeking precision of outline. They express keenness, intensity, force, and yet the overpowering impression they convey is of saintliness.

The countenance seems all alight. The gaze from the blue eyes is powerful. It appeals and commands at the same time. The lithe body is so vibrant with a mysterious power that it almost seems poised for a spring. Withal there is a background of calmness and self-possession and of a simplicity of soul which utters an invocation before the lips move.

There is a momentary pause. The stillness has an element of suspense. Now, from the dominant figure proceeds a voice as remarkable as the man. It is strong, high pitched, yet with the sweetness of a perfectly toned bell. In its general characteristics it is musical and penetrating. Every word—even every syllable—pierces the atmosphere with singular clearness of enunciation. The words are simple. They are designed to convey a message which shall reach all and help all. The sentences, like the words, are short and knit easily together. The unlearned, even children, understand. The language and the elocution blend to produce clearness as of a mountain brook.

As the sermon proceeds, the voice gathers force but

never rises in cadences of the artificial devices of oratory. The man has something to say. He has thoughts and he wishes those thoughts to reach others without loss in transmission. There are few gestures—perhaps none. The mobile and powerful countenance, upon which every eye is fixed, supplies modulation and emphasis better than any gestures.

But there is a force greater than the words, upon which the preacher does not count, of which probably he is not aware—certainly not fully aware. It is his ever-present personality. People seem to be gripped by something psychic. They are under a spell—the spell of a presence—with which no exalted office could invest any man. Even if he should utter the commonplace, it would produce a profound impression.

There is little theology in what he says. Such philosophy as he expounds is not that of the schoolmen. He avoids abstruse processes of logic. There is an evident design to shun any display of learning. The whole effect is of simplicity in which there is immense strength. He believes that there is more religion in lifting a burden from another's back than in exploring some new recess of theological thought.

The hearer accepts the appeal as personal to himself. It is thus framed, thus delivered. The preacher at times seems to be speaking to the congregation as if they were his intimates. He reasons with them, allows for their own mental processes, and supplements them with his own. The effect is that of inviting the assent of individuals to direct arguments gauged according to their understanding. He has a habit of conceding points

which can be urged against any position which he takes. At times he will remark: "I grant you that this is true," or "I do not deny that it is true." A close and discriminating observer might remark that Gibbons stood upon a plane of Christian humility not above that of the humblest man in the audience; others, less disposed to analyze the impressions of the moment, would say that he had a marvelous facility of reaching directly into the consciences and hearts of those who listened.

There is no reference to manuscript, though it is the Cardinal's custom to prepare his sermons in his own handwriting. So tenacious is his memory that one or two readings of a sermon are sufficient to implant its phraseology in his mind for the time being. Now and then there is a slight departure from the original language, but it is a departure in words, not meaning, and is often intentional, based upon impressions derived from the congregation. If the circumstances have imposed especial care in memorizing the sermon, the words may flow with virtually complete fidelity to the prepared discourse. The whole appearance to the congregation is of spontaneity.

The end of the sermon is reached. The occasional hearer is surprised, for the Cardinal seldom preaches more than twenty-five minutes, believing that short sermons are the most effective. So potent has been his influence upon the crowd that some persons, standing or sitting, have scarcely moved a muscle since he began. They have followed every sentence with intensity of concentration. The simplicity of the thoughts has enabled them to carry the thread of the discourse easily. Even a per-

son of poor mental powers could repeat a large part of the sermon at once, if he were called upon to do so. The message has sunk deep. It has been a part of the personality of the preacher, and his personality has been a part of it; and he has given it out to others.

The Catholic from another parish who has listened exclaims: "If my priest could only preach like that!" The Presbyterian says: "If my pastor could only preach like that!" The Jew says: "If my rabbi could only preach like that!" The composite impression is that the Cardinal is the greatest preacher to whom the hearer has listened.

Why? Perhaps the most prominent reason is because he has said something obviously needed as a help in daily life. He has expounded simple truths of the Gospel. Usually there is nothing doctrinal in the sermon, though now and then, of course, the Cardinal takes a doctrinal theme. What he says applies with equal force to any Christian, indeed, in many cases, to any well disposed man. He has used no terms of invective. There is no uncharity, no bitterness. He wishes to heal without inflicting pain. He illuminates the great truths of time and eternity, answers doubts, calms the troubled mind, dispenses sane counsel. The sermon has been practical. He has set before the hearer no exceptionally difficult standard—certainly not one that is impossible. He has expounded every side of his subject so that the impression left is complete and satisfying. He has discarded the technique of the pulpit that he may put the hearer at ease.

This is Gibbons the preacher as he was in his splendid

prime, that long period between the ages of forty and seventy years during which he preserved the fulness of his powers as a speaker. After seventy there was a lessening in the wonderful carrying power of the voice which, without being raised in tone, had been able to penetrate the remotest corners of Cathedrals and large public halls. It was a gradual lessening, scarcely perceptible to those accustomed to listen to him. There was also some diminution at times in his vigor of verbal expression, but again this was so slight as to be observed only by persons who heard him only seldom. He once said:

"I can always manage to make my voice carry indoors in speaking, although I sometimes have trouble in the open air. Early in life I was forced to give myself a severe training in elocution. My health was bad and often I did not have the necessary strength to deliver long discourses. But I found that by training my voice in pronouncing each word distinctly, so that one would not fall over another and confuse the auditor, I could speak in a natural tone and be heard in a large church or hall. If my health had been better, I might not have taken the trouble to do this."

Gibbons' appearance on ecclesiastical occasions when he did not preach and was able to center fully upon his devotions in church must have caused many to think that here at last was a saint in real life. His pale, spiritual countenance seemed to show forth a heavenly serenity as if illumined by an inner light. This was accentuated by the thin, clasped hands, the bowed head, the slightly bent form and the marvelous grace of poise and carriage. The whole aspect of the figure was sweetly

appealing. It was of one come to bless, but never to condemn. The soul of the man, detached from the stress of the world, seemed to speak. Catholics, Protestants, Jews, men of any faith and no faith, felt a reverence that spread through the congregation like a mysterious thrill which none could escape.

The crowds which assembled when he preached in the Cathedral were the wonder of Baltimore. No such had ever flocked to any other church there, or probably elsewhere in America. It was easy to understand why, when he left his own city, thousands should wish to hear him because of his distinguished name, but at home his sermons were far from a novelty, because for more than two score years he preached in the Cathedral once a month and any person who wished to be present could do so if he arrived in time to enter the building with the first of the crowd.

The Cathedral is planted upon a broad hill surrounded by ample lawns and wide streets. On Sundays when Gibbons preached, the near-by streets were crowded as if for a mass meeting in the heat of a political campaign. Men, women, and children stood in long lines, seeking an opportunity to enter. By Gibbons' direction the doors were thrown open to the general public a few minutes after the service had begun. Pews then only partly filled with the families and guests of their holders were quickly crowded as the multitude flowed in, and the aisles were packed to the utmost limit consistent with the general safety. Outside the doors hundreds, often thousands, who were disappointed, turned away, resolving to come again at an early opportunity.

The number of Protestants who were drawn to hear him was great at all times. Many of them preferred the pulpit deliverances of Gibbons to such an extent that they pasted copies of them in scrapbooks and retained them for years as a permanent guide in the multitude of difficulties with which his homilies dealt.

Protestants were sure that they would not be offended by anything which he would say. In his *Discourses and Sermons*, a volume of considerable size, published by him late in life, there are fifty-five titles, of which only six are doctrinal. Their general tenor can be comprehended from the following examples:

"Am I My Brother's Keeper?"
"Jesus Christ Our Friend";
"The Race for an Unfading Crown";
"Eternal Happiness and Conditions for Attaining It";
"The Study and Imitation of Christ";
"Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles";
"The Blessings of Christian Faith";
"Christ, the Only Enduring Name in History and the Great Reformer of Society";
"Why We Should Rejoice";
"Love Is the Fulfilling of the Law";
"Christian Manhood";
"Prayer, Source of Light, Comfort and Strength";
"This Man Receiveth Sinners";
"A Personal Providence";
"The Tribunal of Mercy."

As to the length of sermons he wrote in the preface to the volume:

"The author believes that their brevity will also commend them to the reader; for long discourses are usually tedious and fatiguing. They weigh heavily on the mind as a surfeit of food palls upon the appetite; while short sermons, like a frugal and nutritious meal, are easily digested and assimilated."

Gibbons' greatest sermon was, of course, "*The Faith of Our Fathers*," the most popular and potent discourse framed by any cleric of modern times, which has had an influence upon hundreds of thousands of lives in all civilized countries. In that work, as in almost every sermon that he delivered, he was solicitous to avoid arguing over the heads of those whom he addressed. He was deeply versed in theology and philosophy and in his student days at St. Mary's Seminary his superior excellence in the latter branch of learning had been a subject of especial commendation. Throughout his life he kept up with the latest developments in these two fields, and with his rare mental equipment it was evident that had he wished to lean toward them in his churchmanship he would have ranked high in them.

Recognizing both the absolute need and the practical value of theology and philosophy, he yet turned from them in his customary methods of appeal in the pulpit. He believed that others supplied enough of them. For himself, he would reach down for the simple things and exhibit them for the benefit of men who might not be able to comprehend anything else. His sermons, therefore, lacked that profundity of presentation which would entitle them to be rated highly as works of theology; but it is doubtful if the traveler through this vale of tears,

seeking direct comfort from a minister of God in the trials and difficulties which he must inevitably encounter, can find in the discourses of any other man a more acceptable or practical guide than in those of Gibbons. If it be true that he attained this goal, his work was crowned with all the success that he wished for it. It was the one end which he sought consistently. His aim was to remove the elementary obstacles. He felt that by this means he could reach masses immensely outnumbering those whom the refined and higher processes of reasoning might win to the fold.

Gibbons loved to preach. This was not in the sense of deriving pleasure from the exercise of his powers as an orator, but in the sense of fulfilling one of his foremost duties. During the many years when he was a Cardinal, he might have found ample justification in his own mind for devoting his time to the weighty affairs of administration which pressed upon him and preaching only at rare intervals. But amid all his preoccupations he considered his duties as a priest foremost. He continued to visit the sick, to console the bereaved, even to hear confessions at times. It was not consistent with his purposes to neglect the preaching duty of the priesthood, no matter how great his elevation in the Hierarchy. No duties connected with service to the Church appeared to be uncongenial to him; the humbler they were, the happier he seemed to be in performing them.

Some of his pulpit utterances related to public topics of a general nature; but these were a small fraction of the whole. Whenever he introduced them he gave a religious discourse first, and presented the correlative topic

toward the end. For instance, in a sermon upon "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" he concluded with a vigorous appeal against the continuation of the sweat shop evil in Baltimore, as giving a practical aspect to his main theme. Beginning by citing instances from the Bible of brotherly love and charity, including the story of the Good Samaritan, he proceeded to say that his aim was not to commend charity only as an abstraction but, "to set before you a special class of persons in this city that you may help to improve their condition, to redress their grievances and enable them to earn by their industry an honest and comfortable livelihood." He dealt with current conditions in sermons on topics such as divorce, Sunday observance and marriage, always on a religious basis. Of all the references to subjects of this nature which he introduced in his sermons, by far the largest number were exhortations in behalf of loyalty to country.

On the subject of discussing public questions in the pulpit, he thus defined his views in *The Ambassador of Christ:*[1]

"As the minister of Christ is preëminently the friend and father of the people, he cannot be indifferent to any of the social, political, and economic questions affecting the interests and happiness of the nation. The relations of Church and State, the duties and prerogatives of the citizen, the evils of political corruption and usurpation, the purification of the ballot-box, the relative privileges and obligations of labor and capital, the ethics of trade and commerce, the public desecration of the Lord's Day, popular amusements, temperance, the problem of the colored and Indian races, female suffrage, divorce, social-

[1] Pp. 262–266.

ism, and anarchy,—these and kindred subjects are vital, and often burning questions on which hinge the peace and security of the Commonwealth.

"Politics has a moral, as well as a civil, aspect; the clergyman is a social, as well as a religious, reformer; a patriot as well as a preacher, and he knows that the permanence of our civic institutions rests on the intelligence and the virtue of the people. He has at heart the temporal, as well as the spiritual, prosperity of those committed to his care. They naturally look up to him as a guide and teacher. His education, experience, and sacred character give weight to his words and example.

"There is scarcely a social or economic movement of reform on foot, no matter how extravagant or utopian, that has not some element of justice to recommend it to popular favor. If the scheme is abandoned to the control of fanatics, demagogues, or extremists, it will deceive the masses, and involve them in greater misery. Such living topics need discriminating judges to separate the wheat from the chaff.

"And who is more fitted to handle these questions than God's ambassador, whose conservative spirit frowns upon all intemperate innovation, and whose Christian sympathies prompt him to advocate for his suffering brethren every just measure for the redress of grievances, and the mitigation of needless misery?

"The timely interposition of the minister of peace might have helped to check many a disastrous popular inundation, by watching its course, and diverting it into a safe channel, before it overspread the country. . . .

"The reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII, in his usual masterly manner and luminous style, has, in a series of Encyclicals, enlarged on the great social and economical questions of the day. In his Encyclical of January, 1895, addressed to the Hierarchy of the United States, His Holiness says:

" 'As regards civil affairs, experience has shown how important it is that the citizens should be upright and virtuous. In a free State, unless justice be generally cultivated, unless the people be repeatedly and diligently urged to observe the precepts and laws of the Gospel, liberty itself may be pernicious. Let those of the clergy, therefore, who are occupied with the instruction of the people, *treat plainly this topic of the duties of citizens, so that all may understand and feel the necessity in political life of conscientiousness, self-restraint, and integrity; for that cannot be lawful in public, which is unlawful in private affairs.*'

"Of course, the kingdom of God and the salvation of souls are the habitual theme of the minister of religion, the burden of his life-long solicitude; and the subjects to which I have referred, are, in the nature of things, exceptional and incidental. They should be handled, moreover, with great prudence and discretion, with a mind free from prejudice and partisan spirit, and in the sole interests of Christian charity, social order, and public tranquillity."

In *The Ambassador of Christ*[2] he also gave his own code for the effective preacher. He wrote thus for the guidance of priests:

"First. In every sermon you deliver, have a definite object in view, such as the vindication of some special truth, the advocacy of some virtue, or the denunciation of some vice. Let every sentence in the discourse have some relation to the central idea, and help to illustrate and enforce it.

"Second. Borrow as freely as possible your thoughts and even your expressions from the pages of Scripture, especially of the New Testament.

[2] Pp. 281-283.

"Third. Master your subject to the best of your ability. Commit to memory at least the leading facts logically arranged.

"Fourth. Be intensely earnest in the delivery of your discourse. Thus your hearers will be convinced that your heart is in your work. They will be in sympathy with you, they will catch your spirit, and will be warmed by the sacred flame issuing from your mouth.

"The Gospel message conduces most to edification and spiritual profit when conveyed through the medium of direct and simple language. High-sounding phrases may tickle the ear, and gain admiration for the speaker, but they will not excite compunction of heart in the hearers. Affectation of style and manner, or straining for effect, makes a preacher unnatural and pedantic. It is a desecration of the pulpit.

"Plain speech that needs no effort to be understood is not only necessary for the masses, but is the most acceptable even to cultivated minds. Men listen to sermons not for the sake of abstract information, but for religious and moral improvement. The true aim of a discourse is not so much to enlighten the mind as to move the heart, not so much to convince us of our duty as to impel us to fulfil it; therefore, the appeals best calculated to rouse the conscience are straightforward and to the point, unencumbered by ponderous phraseology. This is genuine eloquence, because it fulfils the legitimate end of preaching, namely, the spiritual progress of the hearers.

"The most sublime thoughts may be embodied in the plainest words. What is more elevated in sentiment than Paul's exhortation on charity, and yet what language is more clear and transparent than his? Any mental exertion required to follow the preacher and seize his thoughts is painful to the audience, and chilling to the spirit of devotion. Daniel Webster used to complain of this kind of discourses. It involved too severe a strain

on the intellect to be in harmony with the spirit of worship. In the House of God, he said that he wanted to meditate 'upon the simple verities, and the undoubted facts of religion,' and not on mere abstractions or speculations."

It is doubtful if the sermons of any other eminent preacher of recent times have been so plentifully interspersed with quotations from the Bible as those of Gibbons. Indeed, considerable portions of his arguments were not infrequently phrased entirely in the language of Scripture. The Bible was his constant companion. Sometimes in gatherings where there were clergymen a copy would be desired and no one was able to produce it but he. He would take it out and read it at numerous intervals of the day, when the opportunity presented itself, and his gifts of memory enabled him to imprint large parts of it verbatim upon his mind.

In a sermon on spiritual reading [3] he said that the Christian, in order to fight successfully the foes which assail him in the world, had need of strong religious discipline. The Bible was to the soldier of Christ what a manual of military tactics was to the soldier serving an earthly government. "The timely remembrance of an appropriate sentence of Holy Writ," he said, was "a tower of strength in the hour of temptation or despondency. But we cannot conjure up these pious phrases unless we are familiar with the sacred text and it is only by habitual perusal of the word of God that we can familiarize ourselves with it." He continued:

"When the demon of swelling pride and vain glory

[3] *Discourses and Sermons,* pp. 143–154.

assails you, let your battle-cry be the words of the royal prophet; 'Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to Thy name give glory.' When the spirit of avarice haunts you, let your antidote be the saying of our Lord: 'What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' When the demon of unhallowed desires endeavors to defile your soul, devoutly recall the words of Christ: 'Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God'; or the words of the Patriarch Joseph: 'How can I sin in the presence of my God!' When tempted with impatience on account of the loss of goods, health or relatives, say with Job: 'The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.'

"It was thus our Savior acted when tempted by the devil, to teach us how to conduct ourselves in similar circumstances. When the demon tempted Him to gluttony, our Lord answered by quoting an appropriate text of Holy Scripture: 'It is written, not on bread alone doth man live, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.' When the devil tried to persuade Him to perform an unnecessary miracle, by precipitating Himself from the pinnacle of the temple, and thus to tempt the Providence of God, Christ answered in the words of Holy Writ: 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' And when prompted to vainglory, He again replied: 'Begone, Satan, for it is written: The Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and Him only shalt thou serve.'

"The Word of God is the most fearless preacher you can listen to. Your most intimate friend will hesitate to remind you of your faults, from a sense of delicacy and from fear of being considered over censorious. Even the ministers of God, though they are commanded by the Holy Ghost to preach the word, to reprove, entreat and rebuke with authority, are cautious not to lay bare the diseases of the soul in their naked deformity, from a dread of suggesting evil thoughts to the innocent, or of

giving personal offense to the guilty, or of shocking the sensibilities of their hearers generally. But the inspired volume is never ashamed to tell us the plain, unvarnished truth, for people can never suspect its authors of being personal.

"Moreover, you cannot usually hear the living voice of a preacher more than once or twice a week. His words pass away, but the written word remains. You have always the Sacred Book at your call. You can ponder again over a page which has impressed you, and you can imprint it on your heart and memory."

In a sermon on prayer [4] he spoke with the widest Christian brotherhood to all, saying:

"Humble and earnest prayer (for this is the only sort of prayer worth considering) is a source of light to the mind, of comfort to the heart, and of strength to the will. By prayer we ascend like Moses to the holy mountain. There God removes the scales from our eyes. He dispels the clouds of passion, of prejudice, or of ignorance that enveloped us. He enlarges our mental vision. He sheds a flood of light upon us that enables us to see things as they really are.

"Standing on that mountain, we see the shortness of time, and how it passes like a shadow, and we see the immeasurable length of eternity. We are penetrated with a sense of the greatness of God alone, and the littleness of man, or if we perceive anything attractive in him, it is because he is shining with borrowed light. We observe how paltry and trifling are all things earthly, since they are passing away, and like the beloved John, we get a glimpse of the heavenly Jerusalem.

"Outside of prayer, indeed, we acknowledge these truths; but it is only in prayer that we fully realize them

[4] *Discourses and Sermons*, pp. 241–250.

and relish them, and that the words of the Apostle are brought home to us: 'We have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come.'

"Prayer . . . is a sovereign remedy against dejection of spirits: 'Is anyone sad among you, let him pray,' says the Apostle.

"How can we, as children, approach our heavenly Father, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, without feeling a sense of security and confidence! How can we draw near to Jesus Christ, the Sun of Justice, without experiencing the warmth of His heavenly rays! How can we fervently pray to the Holy Spirit, who is called the Paraclete or Comforter, without having our hearts dilated and enlarged?

"What is the chief cause of our unrest? Is it not our excessive anxiety about our temporal affairs? Now in prayer, God gives us grace not only to restrain our inordinate ambition, but even to curb and moderate our laudable desires. Those earthly things that we so eagerly crave appear small and trifling when weighed in the scales of the sanctuary, and the sufferings we endure seem short and momentary when measured by the standard of eternity.

"We are told in the Gospel that while Jesus was praying in the garden of Gethsemani, 'there appeared to Him an angel strengthening Him.' What a striking symbol was this heavenly messenger of the angel of consolation whom the Lord sends to us in prayer to sweeten the bitter chalice which He puts to our lips!

"In communion with God, our will is endowed with fresh energy and our heart is strengthened to bear the adversities of life. The man of prayer can say with the Apostle: 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.'"

Divine clemency was a favorite theme of Gibbons.

In a sermon on the subject "This man receiveth sinners" he said: [5]

"How immense is the distance between God's treatment of a repentant sinner and man's conduct towards an offending brother! And how consoling is the thought that in the all-important affair of salvation, sinners have to deal, not with an earthly tribunal where, in the name of justice, the culprit is often overwhelmed with passionate denunciations, but that they are presented before a heavenly Judge, who has all the clemency and magnanimity of a God.

"In order to obtain forgiveness from the Almighty, and to be restored to the liberty and privileges of the children of God; in order to be reinstated as citizens of Heaven and heirs of His eternal kingdom, you are not first subjected to an indefinite period of probation to test your sincerity. You are not habitually taunted for your past offences. The only condition of pardon that God requires is a contrite heart, sincerely repentant of past transgressions.

"If you can say with the sorrow of David: 'I have sinned against the Lord,' quicker than the lightning from heaven does God send you a full pardon in these words: 'The Lord also hath taken away thy sin. Thou shalt not die.' O! well may we exclaim with the royal prophet, when he was offered a choice of punishment from God or from men: 'It is better that I should fall into the hands of the Lord (for His mercies are many) than into the hands of men.'"

In a sermon on "What is a Saint?" he emphasized a point upon which he often dwelt, that the obstacles to the Christian life are exaggerated in the minds of many. He said: [6]

[5] Discourses and Sermons, pp. 312–321.
[6] *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, Vol. II, pp. 249–261.

"There are some who imagine that a Saint is one of whom we read in ancient history and who belongs to an almost extinct species, some ante-diluvian who flourished like the giants of former ages, or King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table, but whose race is well-nigh run out, and whose place is now rarely found on earth.

"No, thank God, the generation of Saints is not extinct. They exist in our day. They are to be found in this city and under our own eyes. They are in every congregation of Baltimore. They sanctify their homes by the integrity of their character and by their domestic virtues. 'Their lives are hidden with Christ in God.'

"And these noble spirits are as unconscious of their increase in holiness, as they are of their physical growth; this is all the better for them. It is only when they begin to view themselves with complacency, and to have an exalted opinion of themselves that they take a step backward, and are in danger of imitating the Pharisee who boasted that he was not like the rest of men.

"There are others again who entertain the notion that to be Saints persons must spend half their time in prayer, the other half in corporal mortification. This mode of life would suit very well a holy anchoret, or women like the devout Anna, 'who departed not from the temple, but by fastings and prayers worshipped night and day.' But it would not befit the bulk of Christians whose daily life is devoted to secular and domestic pursuits, for these duties cannot be omitted without violating conscience and deranging the good order of society or of the family.

"A man who would spend in church the time which should be consecrated to his business affairs would be apt to bring religious exercises into disrepute by performing them out of due season. It is true indeed that Mary, who was given to contemplation, is praised by the Master for having chosen the better part, but it is equally true that her sister Martha, who was occupied in house-

hold affairs, had a share in the esteem and benefaction of our Lord.

"There are others who picture to themselves a Saint as an individual of a sad or gloomy disposition, of a melancholy and dejected aspect like the knight of the sorrowful figure. Our Saviour gives us a different view of a servant of God. He tells us that even in our penitential acts we should maintain a cheerful demeanor. 'When ye fast,' he says, 'be not like the hypocrites sad, for they disfigure their faces that they may appear to men to fast. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou appear not to men to fast but to thy Father who is in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee.'

"The Saints are conspicuous for habitual cheerfulness, because they have an upright conscience, and cheerfulness is the fruition of a good conscience, or of a soul at peace with God and men.

"What then is a Saint? A Saint is one who keeps the commandments of God and the precepts of the Church, and discharges with fidelity the duties of his state of life. Another characteristic of a Saint is that he bears with Christian fortitude and patience the trials of life, whether imposed on him by the inscrutable visitations of Providence, or inflicted by the malice of man, or resulting from the infirmities of his nature."

His unfailing belief in a personal Providence was thus expressed in a sermon upon that subject:[7]

"How delightful the assurance that no injury can possibly befall you against the will of Him whom no power can resist: that God will make the very malice of your enemies to serve as instruments to exalt and glorify you, and that your momentary discomfitures will be so many

[7] *Discourses and Sermons*, pp. 346–355.

stepping-stones to your final victory. 'For, we know that to them that love God all things work together unto good, to such as according to His purpose are called to be saints.' And in order to be assured of God's providential protection, the only condition required is that you rebel not against His holy will, but heartily abandon yourself to His good pleasure and faithfully observe His law.

"I appeal, my dear brethren, to your own experience. Review your past lives. Examine the chain of incidents in the light of faith, and are you not forced to admit that those vicissitudes of health and sickness, those alternations of joy and sorrow, of prosperity and adversity, were but the handmaids of Providence, the frowns and caresses of a loving Father leading you on to your destination? And thus the testimony of your own observation confirms the voice of revelation, saying that 'to them that love God, all things work together unto good.'

"Let me now refer to a popular objection against a personal Providence. Honor, riches and health, you will say, are gifts of God. Why, then, do the wicked so frequently possess them in abundance, while the righteous are so often afflicted by contempt, poverty and suffering? Why is the innocent Abel slain, while the fratricide, Cain, is allowed to roam the earth? Why is the impious Achab dwelling in an ivory palace, while Elias is hunted like a criminal? Why is Herod exalted on a throne, and John is immured in a dungeon? Why is Nero ruling an empire, while Paul is languishing in chains? Is it not reasonable to expect that the great Disposer of events should show partiality to His friends rather than to His enemies?

"To this objection I will answer that, to judge adequately of God's Providence towards us, we must not restrict ourselves to a partial or one-sided view of man's destiny, but we must contemplate him in the whole cycle of his existence. We cannot judge of the success of a

race until the contestants reach the goal. We must remember that man's soul is immortal, that his duration will be eternal, and that the day of final reckoning will come only at the termination of the present life. Why, then, impeach the justice of our Creator if He permits the impious to prosper for a time, and defers rewarding His servants until the close of their earthly pilgrimage? 'One day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' And what are even a thousand years in comparison with eternity?"

Gibbons' habitual cheerfulness, even joyousness in personal demeanor, whether exhibited to President, King or gamin, was based upon inward faith. In a sermon upon "Why we should rejoice" he said: [8]

"A joyous disposition amid the vicissitudes of daily life, I regard as the highest form of Christian philosophy. The cheerfulness which I have in mind is the fruit of innocence and charity, and therefore to enjoy this gift we must have a pure heart before God, and the milk of human kindness for our fellow-beings.

"This cheerfulness does not consist in fitful transports, but in an habitual serenity of mind. It does not usually explode in loud laughter and boisterous mirth. It is not a sudden flash which is rapidly extinguished. It is rather a steady flame flowing from a heart that is filled with the fire of the Holy Ghost.

"The cheerful man is not much disturbed by the changes and accidents of daily life. He rides upon the storm. He rises superior to adversity. He is borne on the wings of hope and love. But the man of a gloomy and fretful temperament is oppressed by the burden of life, and sinks under it.

"The cheerful man not only has sunshine in his own heart, but he diffuses it around him. When he enters a

[8] *Discourses and Sermons,* pp. 23–32.

room, the company feel the warmth of his presence, and their hearts expand with pleasure. He exercises on their spirits the same influence that the electric lights, when they are turned on in this Cathedral, produce upon your senses. The gloomy man, on the contrary, repels them, and casts a dark shadow over them.

"O my brethren, what is wealth or honor to man! What is a kingdom to him, if the kingdom of his soul is dark and desolate, and overshadowed by the clouds of sadness and despair! . . .

"And now let me offer you in conclusion a few practical suggestions. First of all, endeavor to establish the reign of joy and sunshine in your own heart. To accomplish this blessed result, three conditions are necessary. First. You must have a pure and upright conscience before God. Second. You must maintain an habitual spirit of benevolence towards your fellowman; for you can not have serenity in your heart so long as it is clouded by resentment towards your neighbor. Third. Keep yourself free from inordinate attachment to anything earthly. . . . Once you have planted the blessings of joy within you, let its beams radiate throughout your household."

A discourse in the Baltimore Cathedral on "Solicitude of Mind" was an illustration of the practical helpfulness which Gibbons sought to bestow in most of his sermons. He said:[9]

"I do not pretend to read your thoughts, my brethren, but I venture to say that there is scarcely a member of the congregation before me who is not agitated by some vain hope or fear. Each of you has his daily round of cares, which flow and ebb like the tide. As soon as one care subsides another rises in your breast in endless succession.

[9] *Discourse and Sermons*, pp. 418–426.

"Those of you who are more favored in your temporal condition may be preoccupied by the rise and fall in stocks and bonds and the fluctuations in the market. Those of you who are in more modest circumstances are solicitous about your future wants for the decent support of life. Others are anxious about the result of a lawsuit, or of some impending event, on the issue of which you imagine your future happiness depends. Some of you, again, are fretful and uneasy regarding your own health, or about the recovery of a sick friend or of a member of your household.

"Now, the religion of Christ, which was established to prepare us for bliss in the world to come, contributes at the same time to our happiness in this life, as far as it can be attained in our present condition. And as cares and solicitudes are a bar to peace and tranquillity, our Lord suggests to us by His inspired writers and by His own voice the motives and means of banishing those cares, or of lessening their hurtful influence and of lightening their burden. If Christ will not subdue the storm that assails us He will at least help us to ride upon the waves of adversity, as He enabled Peter to walk upon the sea of Galilee.

"St. Paul says: 'Be not solicitous about anything (observe that he makes no exception of any cause whatsoever), but by prayer and supplication let your petitions be made known to God.' Instead of consuming ourselves with vain fears, he exhorts us to lift up our hearts to Heaven for light and strength.

"St. Peter expresses the same thought in these few but touching words: 'Cast your care upon the Lord, for He will sustain you.' Deposit the bundle of your solicitudes in the arms of your Heavenly Father. He will dispose of them.

" 'Which of you,' says our Lord, 'by thinking, can add to his stature one cubit?' What good will all this fretful-

ness and gnawing care do you? It will not add one inch to your height, or one ounce to your weight, or one cent to your wealth, or one jot to your happiness, or one day to your span of life. That excessive anxiety to which you yield weakens the intellect, dissipates the energies of the will and incapacitates you for the due performance of your duties, while an abiding trust in God enables you to work with a concentrated mind and a hearty good will.

"You believe in the existence of a superintending Power that watches over the affairs of men and of nations. You know that the same Divine Wisdom that numbers and names the stars of the firmament counts the very hairs of your head. You know that the same Omnipotent God, who supports and nourishes the angels in Heaven, feeds also the worms of the earth.

"The upshot of Christ's teaching is this: You should be active and industrious without excessive solicitude, diligent and laborious without anxiety. Labor today as if all depended upon your own right arm and brain; trust tomorrow as if all depended upon the Providence of God. Use today, for it is yours; trouble not yourselves about the morrow, for it belongs to God; it is still in the womb of futurity and may never be born to you.

" 'Be not solicitous for tomorrow, for tomorrow will be solicitous for itself. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Do not derange the order of Divine Providence by superadding to the cares of today the solicitudes of tomorrow, which are often imaginary or magnified by the imagination. Like a skilful general, concentrate your powers on the formidable enemy that confronts you now. Do not scatter your forces by striving at the same time to encounter an enemy yet afar off, who may never approach you.

"Endeavor to pass through cares as it were without care. While it may be impossible to prevent the mists of perplexity and anxiety from hovering about the imagina-

tion and clouding the senses, do not permit these vapors to ascend to the higher and more serene atmosphere where the soul is enthroned and communes in undisturbed peace with its Maker.

"Remember that the moral Ruler of the world holds the reins of government, which He never surrenders. So long as He guides and controls the chariot that carries you and your fortunes, happen what will, you have nothing to fear, provided you put your trust in Him. 'Hope in the Lord, and do good, and He will give you the desires of your heart.'

"Be not solicitous about anything, but by prayer and supplication let your petitions be made known to God; and may the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus."

Gibbons gave his forecast of one aspect of the future life in a sermon preached in the Baltimore Cathedral on "Social and Domestic Joys of Heaven." As he looked back on the hundreds of discourses which he delivered from the pulpit, this had been one of his favorites. His text was John xiv. 2–3: "In my Father's house there are many mansions: I go to prepare a place for you."

Saying that the whole court of heaven was represented in the Bible as one family, God Himself being the Father of the household, he proceeded: [10]

"From this picture of heaven we see at once that the Saints will not live in a state of isolation or seclusion; they will not dwell apart, standing like statues on a pedestal; they will not be in a condition of mental abstraction, so absorbed in the contemplation of God as to be unconscious of each other's presence: they will enjoy, on

[10] *Retrospect,* Vol. II, pp. 262–278.

the contrary, not only the vision of their Creator, but the happy society also of one another.

"Man is by nature a social being. God has planted in his breast an irresistible desire to consort and converse with his fellow-man. And as Boethius remarks, our happiness is increased when we can share it with others. Indeed the most frightful punishment you can inflict on any one is to deprive him of all human fellowship, or to condemn him to solitary confinement.

"Now in heaven the essential characteristics of our nature are not destroyed but preserved. Grace will not supplant nature. It will supplement and perfect it. And therefore man will remain in heaven as he is now on earth —a social being."

"We are assured by the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers that the blessed will recognize one another in the City of God . . . and the particular affection they will have for their kindred and relatives will in no wise violate the law of universal charity, just as Christ's predilection for His mother, for the Apostles and the Baptist did not lessen in the slightest degree his love for the host of heaven. . . . Death shall not erase from your minds the memory of those with whom you were associated here and who shared in your joys and sorrows on earth. . . . It is repugnant to our religious sense that a devoted Christian family who were united here below would be separated in the life to come."

The recollection of the occasional animosities that cloud life on earth, he declared, would not mar the peace of the family in the City of God, but "the memory of those estrangements will serve rather to augment your joys, because you will be conscious that these moral wounds have been healed by the blood of the Lamb, never

to return." He dwelt upon the meetings of friends in the future life, saying:

"How ineffable will be the delight of friends in heaven whose fellowships will meet with the approving smile of the great King, and who will have no fear of being ever separated by estrangement or death."

While Gibbons shunned many of the devices of oratory, he rose not infrequently to heights in his sermons which produced the effect of masterful eloquence upon his hearers. His perorations were sometimes highly effective, especially in view of his delivery, the public speaker's *summum bonum* according to the precept of Demosthenes. Even in these, however, he clung to his general plan of clearness and simplicity, together with the conveyance of helpful meaning. The following passage at the close of one of his sermons, on "Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles' " will serve as an illustration: [11]

"God of all consolation, who comfortest us in all our tribulations, let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us. Dispel from us all clouds of gloom and sadness. Give us Thy blessed peace, that triple peace which Thou didst bestow on Thy Apostles—peace with God, peace with our neighbor, peace with ourselves. Give us that peace of God which 'surpasseth all understanding,' which 'the world cannot give'; that peace which will keep our hearts serene and tranquil amid the storms of life, so that we may rejoice with exceeding great joy in the midst of our tribulations.

"Reign over every faculty of our soul. Reign over our mind, that we may daily meditate on Thy mercies.

[11] *Discourses and Sermons*, p. 287.

Reign over our will that we may ever love Thee. Reign over our memory that we may be mindful of Thy past favors. Reign over our imagination, and the whole range of our thoughts. Reign over us in time and in eternity."

Another example of the same kind is the following from a sermon on "Reflections on Death":[12]

"Why, then, should you have a morbid dread of death, soldiers of the Cross? Let the infidel fear death, who hopes in his heart that there is no God. Let the obdurate sinner fear death, who offends the majesty of Heaven by his sins. Let the slave of lust and avarice fear death, which will be the end of his pleasures and the beginning of his miseries. . . .

"But as for you, why should you dread death? Has not your Master said: 'O death, I will be thy death?' Has He not conquered the king of terrors by His own death and glorious resurrection? Has He not demonstrated by word and example that death is not the termination of your existence? Has He not lifted up the veil and given you an insight into that bright and boundless realm beyond the grave? Why should you fear to pass through the gate which leads to the regions of bliss eternal?

"With what delight does the prisoner hear the huge bolts of his dungeon door drawn aside, and listen to the messenger of the law reading the sentence of his deliverance! With what joy he bounds into the light of day and breathes the air of freedom and hastens to his father's home! And should you not rejoice in that day which will release you from the prison of the body, reveal to you the light of Heaven, restore you to the glorious liberty of the children of God, and enable you to enter the home of your eternal Father?"

[12] *Discourses and Sermons*, pp. 435–36.

CHAPTER XLVIII

LITERARY TASTES AND LABORS

Gibbons the reader sits in his study in the archiepiscopal residence in Baltimore. He has just finished his frugal dinner. It is seven o'clock or a little later. The work of the day is over. He wears his gray dressing gown, reaching almost to his feet. Upon his head is the red zuchetto or skull cap which a Cardinal always wears. He smokes his second cigar of the day—his only semblance of luxury. It is far from being a costly cigar. Wealthy friends have begged him until they are wearied to permit them to supply him always with the finest Havanas made to his order, but he refuses. He will use in works of benevolence the money which such cigars represent, if they wish, but will never smoke luxurious cigars.

He has drawn up to his desk a cane seat armchair without rockers, containing a leather cushion, and sits half-crouched in it, his eyes peering intently at the pages of the book which he is reading. Sometimes he puts another chair in front of him and elevates his slippered feet upon it for comfort.

Upon his desk is a "student's lamp," burning oil, of a type familiar in his younger days before the development of the better types of gas and electric lamps. It emits a good light and he will have no other. Here again wealthy

friends have attempted to interpose, but in vain. One of them, after many efforts, obtained permission to equip the house with electric lights and even put an excellent light of that kind on the Cardinal's desk, but after a few days he discarded it and resumed the use of the old oil lamp.

Upon the top of the desk, surmounting it, is a large crucifix. The papers upon the desk and in its pigeon holes are in fairly good order, for the Cardinal is disposed to be neat and systematic in such things. Around the walls are crowded bookshelves, and there are more books in his simple bedroom adjoining. These are the Cardinal's favorites. The main archiepiscopal library is downstairs, in a wing of the house especially built for it, but the Cardinal always reads in his study. In his own special collection the Bible, in various languages and editions, holds first place.

Thus the Cardinal appeared while enjoying his nightly diversion and thus his friends saw him in a long period of years. From seven to nine o'clock every evening he was accustomed to read constantly, unless interrupted by one of the few intimates who had access to his study. Some of these were Bishops; others priests; still others Catholic laymen; and they also included Protestants and Jews. The personal tie was the one that prevailed in these cases.

The Cardinal read fast. His extraordinary memory enabled him to retain everything that he wished to retain from the pages, even though his eyes raced along the lines. He possessed the faculty almost of reading by sentences, groups of sentences or even pages. One glance did much.

His powers of perception were perhaps unsurpassed by those of any man of his time; persons who observed this phenomenon in him—for it was a phenomenon—were ready to say that they were unequaled. In his long life his range of reading packed his mind like a great store house with an immense variety of exact information.

He read for style as well as facts. The Cardinal enjoyed style. His taste in this respect was that of an English purist, and his standards were the best classical models of the language which he spoke in daily life. In America, he believed, there was too much haste in the production of literature, but many English writers took more time and turned out more artistic products. He liked the smooth, flowing sentence, a combination of simplicity, strength and grace.

His range was the very widest among good books. He kept up at all times with publications relating to the Catholic Church and the subject of religion generally, including theology, philosophy, Church history and biography. Outside of books relating to the ecclesiastical life, his favorite reading was history, especially that of the United States. He read all of the great works on that subject, and many that were not great. Now and then he would reread a historical book which especially fascinated him. American constitutional history was one of his favorite subjects of research and meditation. He liked to trace and retrace the processes of historical evolution and of mature thought by which the American constitution was framed. It was his model for a civil government. He agreed with Hamilton and Madison in their pleas in the Federalist papers, and regarded these

pleas as applicable in his own time. In the fields of American history and civics his range of reading was without limit.

Now and then he read a novel to divert his mind from the absorbing experiences of the day. Any novel that was wholesome, and, preferably had a touch of elegance of style, was acceptable to him. The dramatic action stimulated his interest keenly, for there was abundant zest in everything that he did.

He was more than ordinarily fond of novels dealing in whole or in part with religious subjects, such as "The Garden of Allah." The works of Anthony Trollope, A. Conan Doyle and F. Marion Crawford he also found particularly attractive. He read considerably in Latin and Greek, being fond of Cicero, Horace and Homer. One of his favorite works, much of the philosophy of which he illustrated in his own person, was *De Senectute*. Works in French occupied much space in his library and he read them with facility.

Poetry fascinated him. He liked Pope, Dryden, Goldsmith and Moore, and rambled widely in his excursions of reading among both the English and American schools of verse.

All books of low standard he barred rigorously. He would not read them merely to understand their type of literature or the type of life which they portrayed. In him they excited only aversion. In a sermon on "Spiritual Reading" he once laid down these precepts: [1]

"Rigidly exclude from your household all books and pamphlets which are hostile to religion and good morals.

[1] *Discourses and Sermons*, p. 249.

Never admit into your homes any newspaper or periodical which ventilates obscene news or licentious scandals. You are careful to avoid any dish which you know from experience would nauseate your stomach, no matter how tempting and palatable it may be to the taste. Why then should you not discard those highly-seasoned novels which may be agreeable to a morbid appetite, but which defile the imagination and enfeeble the soul?"

Magazines and newspapers whose general tone commended itself to him he read with avidity. He was always keen to keep up with contemporary events and thought. English and French magazines in much variety were especially included in his range. Few men were better informed on current events. He had a penetrating power of interpreting accurately what he read.

Authorship naturally had a powerful appeal to one who wandered so much in literary fields, yet he tempered this impulse, as all others, to the cause of religion. His first and most successful book, *The Faith of Our Fathers*, was produced as a direct result of missionary zeal alone. This appeared in 1876; his second book *Our Christian Heritage*, in 1889; the third, *The Ambassador of Christ*, in 1896; the fourth, *Discourses and Sermons*, in 1908; and the fifth and last, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, in 1916.

He wrote his books rapidly and, indeed, wrote letters rapidly also, for his habit was to think over in advance what he had to say and when he was ready to use the pen his ideas flowed much faster than his hand could move. Sometimes he made notes when his thoughts called for expression so fast that there was danger of losing them

from the slowness of the pen, and then he would elaborate the notes afterward.

"The great thing as to style," he once remarked in speaking of his methods in writing books, "is to have something to say. Words will come at the pressure of an idea."

His aim was always at simplicity of style. "That is the most difficult," he used to observe.

He wrote in a small, regular hand, erasing little. The typewriter's development came too late in his life to be of direct personal use to him. Most of his books were composed in a comparatively short time. This was necessarily the case in such a crowded life.

Gibbons was diverted into productive literature by his experiences in North Carolina, the fountain of so many of his aspirations, policies and accomplishments. Kindly Protestant gentle folk of that State who welcomed him to their homes when he was engaged in missionary journeys over his vicariate, because there was often no Catholic in a whole town whose guest he might be, were no less ready to proffer their hospitality than to present to him frankly their often distorted views of the faith which he had come to spread. While, of course, courtesy forbade them to obtrude the subject when there was no occasion for it, all the circumstances of his mission there tended to bring clearly before him the misunderstandings of the Catholic Church which had accumulated through the years when she was unknown to the mass of North Carolinians by direct contact. Force of circumstances caused him to learn the viewpoint of the

majority of those among whom his lot was cast at that stage of his life.

Sometimes preaching in a community where the Catholic religion was unknown, perhaps from the pulpit of a Protestant church, which he did not hesitate to use when occasion offered no other means, he undertook to answer the objections developed by his observations in the community where he happened to be. An impression which was at least temporary was thus produced in such cases, but when he returned to the same locality after a time, he found the impression weakened, and the idea of supplementing his sermons by a printed treatise thus occurred to him.

The thought, once planted in his mind, began to take deep root. While visiting Father Gross, his faithful collaborator in Wilmington, in the spring of 1876, he suggested that the priest prepare such a treatise. Father Gross replied:

"Bishop, why don't you write it?"

Inspiration flashed at once, and the Bishop replied:

"While the spirit is in me, give me paper and ink, and I will jot down the first chapter."

That chapter has exercised a profound influence upon the spiritual lives of an immense host, for it was and is the keynote of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, of which Gibbons lived to see two million copies sold. It has served to clear the way for missionary effort in distant dioceses throughout the world, even the names of which he did not know when he was composing its appealing pages. He chose at the outset of the work thus begun under the

simple urging of Father Gross to employ dialogue for the sake of clearness, citing as an illustration a conversation between a Protestant minister and a convert to the Catholic Church, of which the following are extracts:

"MINISTER.—You cannot deny that the Roman Catholic Church teaches gross errors—the worship of images, for instance.

"CONVERT.—I admit no such charge, for I have been taught no such doctrines.

"MINISTER.—But the priest who instructed you did not teach you all. He held back some points which he knew would be objectionable to you.

"CONVERT.—He withheld nothing; for I am in possession of books treating fully of all Catholic doctrines.

"MINISTER.—Deluded soul! Don't you know that in Europe they are taught differently?

"CONVERT.—That cannot be, for the Church teaches the same creed all over the world, and most of the doctrinal books which I read were originally published in Europe."

The text proceeds:

"We cannot exaggerate the offense of those who thus wilfully malign the Church. There is a commandment which says: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'

"If it is a sin to bear false testimony against one individual, how can we characterize the crime of those who calumniate three hundred millions of human beings, by attributing to them doctrines and practises which they repudiate and abhor? I do not wonder that the Church is hated by those who learn what she is from her enemies. It is natural for an honest man to loathe an institution whose history he believes to be marked by bloodshed, crime and fraud.

"Had I been educated as they were, and surrounded by an atmosphere hostile to the Church, perhaps I should be unfortunate enough to be breathing vengeance against her today, instead of consecrating my life to her defence.

"It is not of their hostility that I complain, but because the judgment they have formed of her is based upon the reckless assertions of her enemies, and not upon those of impartial witnesses.

"Suppose that I wanted to obtain a correct estimate of the Southern people, would it be fair in me to select, as my only sources of information, certain Northern and Eastern periodicals which, during our Civil War, were bitterly opposed to the race and institutions of the South? Those papers have represented you as men who always appeal to the sword and pistol, instead of the law, to vindicate your private grievances. They heaped accusations against you which I will not here repeat. Instead of taking these publications as the basis of my information, it was my duty to come among you; to live with you; to read your life by studying your public and private character. This I have done, and I here cheerfully bear witness to your many excellent traits of mind and heart.

"Now I ask you to give to the Catholic Church the same measure of fairness which you reasonably demand of me when judging of Southern character. Ask not her enemies what she is, for they are blinded by passion; ask not her ungrateful, renegade children, for you never heard a son speaking well of the mother whom he had abandoned and despised.

"Study her history in the pages of truth. Examine her creed. Read her authorized catechisms and doctrinal books. You will find them everywhere on the shelves of booksellers, in the libraries of her clergy, on the tables of Catholic families.

"There is no freemasonry in the Catholic Church; she has no secrets to keep back. She has not one set of doc-

trines for Bishops and priests, and another for the laity. She has not one creed for the initiated and another for outsiders. Everything in the Catholic Church is open and above board. She has the same doctrines for all—for the Pope and the peasant.

"Should not I be better qualified to present to you the Church's creed than the unfriendly witnesses whom I have mentioned? . . .

"It is to me a duty and a labor of love to speak the truth concerning my venerable Mother, so much maligned in our days. Were a tithe of the accusations which are brought against her true, I would not be attached to her ministry, nor even to her communion, for a single day. I know these charges to be false. The longer I know her, the more I admire and venerate her. Every day she develops before me new spiritual charms.

"In coming to the Church, you are not entering a strange place, but you are returning to your Father's home. The house and furniture may look odd to you, but it is just the same as your forefathers left it three hundred years ago. In coming back to the Church, you worship where your fathers worshiped before you, you kneel before the altar at which they knelt, you receive the Sacraments which they received, and respect the authority of the clergy whom they venerated."

The preparation of subsequent chapters of the book was crowded into the indefatigable young Bishop's labors. He meditated upon them when traveling on railway cars or by other means, and confirmed upon his return the abundant quotations and references from the Bible and other books which he cited in confirmation of his statements. In clear, simple and classic English he thus wrote the principles of the Catholic religion, while replying in detail to the arguments commonly urged against it.

No religious controversial book—if such it may be called—was ever conceived in a broader spirit. It leaves no sting with the reader, whatever be its convictions, and as a concise explanation of the Church, her history, doctrines and mission, there is practically unanimous judgment that it has never had an equal. One may put down the book and say "I disagree," but never "I do not understand."

Its literary strength gave it a permanent place in the libraries of the world almost immediately after its publication, late in 1876; priests found that it said what they wanted to say, better than they could say it themselves, and its circulation in great numbers of copies has ever since been a favorite means of reinforcing the efforts of the clergy. The work has been translated into twelve languages. It is probably true, Bishop Shahan has said, that, after the Bible, no religious book has had so wide a circulation.

In particular, the author defended with warmth the assertion that the Catholic Church has always been a zealous promoter of religious and civil liberty. Wherever encroachments on these rights of man were perpetrated by individual adherents to her faith, he argued, the wrongs, far from being sanctioned by the Church, were committed in palpable violation of her authority. He brought out the old arguments about the Spanish inquisition and the massacre of St. Bartholemew, of which he had heard not a little in North Carolina, and discussed them fully from the Catholic point of view.

Taking up the leading doctrines of the Church, he gave a simple but sufficient explanation of each, dealing

successively with the Trinity, the incarnation, unity of the Church, apostolicity, perpetuity, authority, the primacy of Peter, the supremacy of the Popes, the temporal power, invocation of saints, the Blessed Virgin Mary, sacred images, purgatory, prayers for the dead, charges of religious persecution, the Holy Eucharist, the sacrifice of the Mass, the use of religious ceremonies and the Latin language, penance, indulgence and extreme unction.

The broad charity which shines through the pages of the book has been perhaps as potent as its logic in carrying conviction to the minds of hundreds of thousands of readers throughout the world.

In composing *The Faith of Our Fathers* Gibbons, as related by himself, tried to be so clear and simple as to reach the feeblest intelligence, and at the same time sufficiently deep and thorough to reach the highest. As he proceeded with the difficult task, he scratched out with his pen long sentences or involved meanings and simplified them. He was most careful to discard every line that seemed to have a sting in it. According to his own version in later years of his methods of composition, he said to himself in regard to a line of that kind when he would come to it: "This may create a smile, but it has no place in a permanent work."

He submitted the manuscript to several critics before publication. This, in his view, implied an obligation to follow their advice and he did so; but he subsequently expressed the opinion that the changes had not strengthened the book; probably indeed, although he did not say so in direct terms, he thought that they weakened it con-

siderably. Late in life he expressed the view that a special Providence had guided him in the preparation of the work.

The book was published in Baltimore, a comparatively small edition being issued, as in the boldest hopes entertained for its success there was no thought of the world-wide vogue destined for it. Gibbons subsequently said that an edition of five thousand copies was the "ultima thule" of his expectations then. No one was more surprised than he when the first edition was exhausted rapidly, after the manner of a popular novel. One imprint after another was made in increasing quantities, until the popularity which the work attained came to be accepted as a baffling mystery both by the author and his personal friend, the publisher, who was sometimes at a loss to supply the eager demand.

As the sales leaped from units into thousands at a time, Gibbons found pleasure in the reports that were made to him of the additional copies sold, and seemed to have the figures at his fingers' ends. He remarked with elation to a friend who called upon him one evening in 1914 that the sale of *The Faith of Our Fathers* had then surpassed that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

He was convinced of the necessity of the work, particularly in English-speaking countries where the Catholic Church is compelled to contend constantly against misconceptions of her doctrines and policies. The simplicity and clearness of the appeal, he felt, were essential to its potency. It was aimed especially to reach the average man who, through no fault of his own, had absorbed and retained current and often fanciful misrepresenta-

tions on the subject. It did not occur to the modest Bishop that his simplicity of style was so limpid that hundreds of thousands, bewildered by the doubts of theological disputations, would turn to it with relief as solving their perplexities.

The results reaped from the work were naturally one of the deepest of Gibbons' consolations. Chatting in his study one night when he was nearly eighty years old, he said that he had just received a letter from a friend who had been converted to the Catholic Church "by one of my books."

"*The Faith of Our Fathers?*" the visitor suggested.

"Yes," he replied. "By the way, I also have a letter from a friend in Italy who tells me of the great circulation which the book has attained in his country."

"Was the writing of *The Faith of Our Fathers* an inspiration?" the visitor asked.

"I am beginning to think that it was," mused the Cardinal, "although I had no idea of it at the time. I wrote it rather reluctantly as a duty and not because I felt especial enthusiasm about it. Some book was necessary to correct the errors of possible converts and I believed that it would be a decided help to me in my work. When I took it to the publisher, John Murphy, he estimated its probable circulation at three thousand copies. I was the most surprised person of all over the demand for it that was found to exist.

"Of all the things about the book, one point that gratifies me most is that, although it is an explanation of the Catholic religion, there is not one word in it that can give offense to our Protestant brethren. There was originally a reference that seemed to displease Episcopalians, but when my attention was called to it I promptly ordered

it to be expunged. Had I written the book in Catholic Baltimore, I might have fallen into something of that kind. But in North Carolina, where opinion was almost unanimously against me, I was on my good behavior. It was fortunate that it was so."

The popularity of the work and the use of copies of it in great numbers by Bishops and priests as a means of presenting the tenets of the Catholic faith naturally caused a multitude of suggestions to flow in upon the author. His disposition was to accept these suggestions, even when that involved the expansion of the book beyond its original limits. In its inception it was intended only to set forth the main doctrines of the Church and to combat the chief errors regarding those doctrines which were commonly held. In this form the book was compact and unified and possessed an irresistible appeal of style.

As suggestions were offered by others, Gibbons rewrote parts of some of the original chapters and inserted other chapters until the last edition considerably exceeded the limits which he had intended for the book at first. The effect was to make it a complete exposition of Catholic doctrine, as compared with a designedly incomplete one that had been intended only to combat major errors. The process of addition also involved a certain measure of dilution of the original literary style, and the book in its final form, while perhaps more useful for its general purpose, cannot be said to be an improvement on the first edition in literary strength and grace.

Gibbons cared nothing for this. He seemed to be unmoved by vanity of authorship. As he changed the book from time to time, he believed that he was increasing the

harvest of souls which would be reaped through its influence, and this far overweighed any other consideration, personal or otherwise, which could have appealed to him.

He devoted a great deal of time and thought to the preparation of *Our Christian Heritage*, which was published at the time of the centennial of the American Hierarchy; and he dedicated it to the memory of Archbishop Carroll and the American prelates and clergy, "heirs of his faith and mission." In his first book he had been the priest preaching to the people; but from the pages of *Our Christian Heritage* shines the character of citizen as well as priest.

It may be described in brief as an argument in behalf of Christianity addressed to the average busy man of the time accustomed to be guided by material considerations in his daily work, and doubting, from force of habit, conclusions as to religion whose premises he can not clearly comprehend. Gibbons aimed to demonstrate by means of the unaided reason the fundamental truths underlying Christianity and he declared that this was sufficient, though "they are made still more luminous by the light of Christian revelation." The book is a compressed theology for a cross-section of general humanity. He was moved to write it, he said, because *The Faith of Our Fathers* presupposed certain truths—the existence of God, free will, and others—and he wished to show the basis of Christian belief in these doctrines.

The author conceived *Our Christian Heritage* as nonsectarian and hoped that it would appeal to everybody. In the introduction to it, he set forth:

FAC-SIMILE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS' HANDWRITING

(*Extract from "Our Christian Heritage"*)

We have grown up not as distinct, independent, & conflicting communities, but as one corporate body, breathing the same atmosphere of freedom, governed by the same laws, enjoying the same political rights. I see in all this a wonderful verification of the humanising & elevating influences of christian civilization. We receive from abroad people of various nations, races & tongues, habits & temperaments who speedily become assimilated to the native mass, & who form one homogeneous society. What is the secret of our stability & order? It results from wise laws based on christian principles, & which are the echo of God's eternal law. What is the cohesive power that makes us one body politic out of so many alien elements? It is the religion of Christ.

"This book is not polemical. It does not deal with the controversies that have agitated the Christian world since the religious convulsion of the sixteenth century. It does not, therefore, aim at vindicating the claims of the Catholic Church as superior to those of the separated branches of Christianity—a subject that has already been exhaustively treated.

"It has nothing to say against any Christian denomination that still retains faith in at least the Divine mission of Jesus Christ. On the contrary, I am glad to acknowledge that most of the topics discussed in this little volume have often found, and still find, able and zealous advocates in Protestant writers. And far from despising or rejecting their support, I would gladly hold out to them the right hand of fellowship, so long as they unite with us in striking at the common foe."

Addressing those who rejected Christianity upon the ground of doubts of its physical evidence, he wrote:

"While avowing their ignorance of many of the physical laws that govern the universe and that regulate even their own bodies which they see and feel, they will insist on knowing everything regarding the incomprehensible Deity and His attributes. In a word, they will admit mysteries in the material world that surrounds them; but mysteries in the supernatural world they will not accept. They will deny any revealed truth that does not fall within the range of human experience and that is not in accordance with the discovered laws of nature. But to reject a dogma on such grounds cannot be approved by philosophy or sound sense."

Enumerating the fruits of Christian civilization, he contrasted them effectively with conditions among pagan peoples. He showed that Christianity has "delivered us

from idolatry and led us to the worship of the one true and living God"; that it has "brought not only light to our intellects, but also peace to our hearts, that peace which springs from the knowledge of the truth and the hope of eternal life"; that Christ "has given benediction to the home by proclaiming the unity, the sanctity and the indissolubility of marriage"; that hospitals and asylums, previously unknown, have sprung up in every Christian land; that "human slavery has melted away before the effulgent rays of the Gospel"; that the dignity of labor has been proclaimed and that the number of wars has been diminished and their horrors have been reduced.

The last part of *Our Christian Heritage* is an application of the general vindication of Christianity set forth in the first part. Chapters deal with the "Dignity, Rights and Duties of the Laboring Classes," "Religion, the Essential Basis of Civil Society," "The Religious Element in our American Civilization," and "The Dangers That Threaten our American Civilization."

In the chapter on labor, Gibbons took another opportunity to defend energetically the right of workingmen to organize "for their mutual protection and benefit." Defending this view, he wrote:

"Labor has its sacred rights as well as its dignity. Paramount among the rights of the laboring classes, is their privilege to organize, or to form themselves into societies for their mutual protection and benefit. It is in accordance with natural right that those who have one common interest should unite together for its promotion. Our modern labor associations are the legitimate successors of the ancient guilds of England.

"In our days there is a universal tendency towards

organization in every department of trade and business. In union there is strength in the physical, moral and social world; and just as the power and majesty of our Republic are derived from the political union of the several States, so do men clearly perceive that the healthy combination of human forces in the economic world can accomplish results which could not be effected by any individual efforts. Throughout the United States and Great Britain there is to-day a continuous network of syndicates and trusts, of companies and partnerships, so that every operation from the construction of a leviathan steamship to the manufacture of a needle is controlled by a corporation.

"When corporations thus combine, it is quite natural that mechanics and laborers should follow their example. It would be as unjust to deny to workingmen the right to band together because of the abuses incident to such combinations, as to withhold the same right from capitalists because they sometimes unwarrantably seek to crush or absorb weaker rivals.

"The public recognition among us of the right to organize implies a confidence in the intelligence and honesty of the masses; it affords them an opportunity of training themselves in the school of self-government, and in the art of self-discipline; it takes away from them every excuse and pretext for the formation of dangerous societies; it exposes to the light of public scrutiny the constitution and laws of the association and the deliberations of the members; it inspires them with a sense of their responsibility as citizens and with a laudable desire of meriting the approval of their fellow-citizens. 'It is better,' as Matthew Arnold observes, 'that the body of the people with all its faults, should act for itself, and control its own affairs, than that it should be set aside as ignorant and incapable, and have its affairs managed for it by a so-called superior class.' "

While defending the right of workingmen to organize, Gibbons did not neglect to add that they must banish extremists from their ranks, saying:

"They should therefore be careful to exclude from their ranks that turbulent element composed of men who boldly preach the gospel of anarchy, socialism and nihilism; those land-pirates who are preying on the industry, commerce and trade of the country; whose mission is to pull down and not to build up; who instead of upholding the hands of the government that protects them, are bent on its destruction, and instead of blessing the mother that opens her arms to welcome them, insult and defy her. If such revolutionists had their way, despotism would supplant legitimate authority, license would reign without liberty, and gaunt poverty would stalk throughout the land."

He expressed his disapproval of boycotting and held that "experience has shown that strikes are a drastic and at best a very questionable remedy for the redress of the laborers' grievances. They paralyze industry; they often foment fierce passions, and lead to the destruction of property; and, above all, they result in inflicting grievous injury on the laborer himself by keeping him in enforced idleness, during which his mind is clouded by discontent while brooding over the situation, and his family not infrequently suffers from the want of even the necessaries of life."

He presented an earnest plea for the arbitration of disputes between capital and labor, urging that it was "conciliatory and constructive" as distinguished from the aggression and destructiveness of strikes.

He also warned labor that some forms of discontent were to be shunned. He wrote:

"While honestly striving to better your condition, be content with your station in life, and do not yield to an inordinate desire of abandoning your present occupation for what is popularly regarded as a more attractive avocation. Remember that while the learned professions are over-crowded, there is always a demand for skilled and unskilled labor, and that it is far better to succeed in mechanical or manual work, than to fail in professional life. Be not over eager to amass wealth, for they who are anxious to become rich, 'fall into temptations and into the snares of the Devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires which drown men in destruction and perdition.'

"A feverish ambition to accumulate a fortune, which may be called our national distemper, is incompatible with peace of mind. Moderate means with a contented spirit are preferable to millions without it. If poverty has its inconveniences and miseries, wealth has often greater ones."

Gibbons was expounding a favorite theme in his chapter on "Religion, the Essential Basis of Civil Society." He set forth that he was using the word religion

"in its broadest and most comprehensive sense as embodying the existence of God, His infinite power and knowledge; His providence over us; the recognition of Divine law; the moral freedom and responsibility of man; the distinction between good and evil; the duty of rendering our homage to God and justice and charity to our neighbor; and finally the existence of a future state of rewards and punishments."

The book proceeds:

"What motives, religion apart, are forcible enough to compel legislators, rulers, and magistrates to be equitable and impartial in their decisions? What guarantee have we that they will not be biased by prejudice and self-interest? Will a thirst for fame and a desire for public approbation prove a sufficient incentive for them to do right? How often has not this very love of glory and esteem impelled them to trample on the rights and liberties of the many, in order to win the approbation of a few sycophants, just as Roboam oppressed his subjects that he might be admired and praised by his young courtiers, and as Alexander enslaved nations to receive the applause of the fickle Athenians.

"Would you vote for a presidential candidate that avowed atheistic principles? I am sure you would not. You would instinctively mistrust him; for an unbelieving President would ignore the eternal laws of justice, and the eternal laws of justice are the basis of civil legislation.

" . . . Religion is anterior to society and more enduring than governments; it is the focus of all social virtues, the basis of public morals, the most powerful instrument in the hands of legislators; it is stronger than self-interest, more awe-inspiring than civil threats, more universal than honor, more active than love of country,—the surest guarantee that rulers can have of the fidelity of their subjects, and that subjects can have of the justice of their rulers; it is the curb of the mighty, the defence of the weak, the consolation of the afflicted, the covenant of God with man; and, in the language of Homer, it is 'the golden chain which suspends the earth from the throne of the eternal.'"

Gibbons pointed out in *Our Christian Heritage* that the Declaration of Independence contains a devout recog-

nition of God and His overruling providence. "God's holy name," he wrote, "greets us in the opening paragraph and is piously invoked in the last sentence of the Declaration; and thus it is at the same time the cornerstone and the keystone of this great monument of freedom."

As to the Federal Constitution, he felt no concern because the name of God was not imprinted there,

"so long as the constitution itself is interpreted by the light of Christian revelation. . . . Far better for the nation that His spirit should animate our laws; that He should be invoked in our courts of justice; that He should be worshiped in our citadels on Thanksgiving Day and that His guidance should be implored in the opening of our congressional proceedings."

Washington's faith in God and his frequent references to the Supreme Being in his public addresses and state papers were cited by Gibbons in the same connection. He remarked that the oath taken by every President of the United States before he assumed the duties of office implies a belief in God. Gibbons added:

"In one century we have grown from three millions to sixty millions.[2] We have grown up, not as distinct, independent and conflicting communities, but as one corporate body, breathing the same atmosphere of freedom, governed by the same laws, enjoying the same political rights. I see in all this a wonderful manifestation of the humanizing and elevating influence of Christian civilization. We receive from abroad people of various nations, races and tongues, habits and temperament, who speedily become assimilated to the human mass, and who form one

[2] 1789–1889.

homogeneous society. What is the secret of our social stability and order? It results from wise laws, based on Christian principles, and which are the echo of God's eternal law.

"What is the cohesive power that makes us one body politic out of so many heterogeneous elements? It is the religion of Christ. We live as brothers because we recognize the brotherhood of humanity—one Father in heaven, one origin, one destiny."

He enumerated the "dangers that threaten our American civilization" (writing in the year 1889) as follows:

"We are confronted by five great evils—Mormonism and divorce, which strike at the root of the family and society; an imperfect and vicious system of education, which undermines the religion of our youth; the desecration of the Christian Sabbath, which tends to obliterate in our adult population the salutary fear of God and the homage that we owe Him; the gross and systematic election frauds; and lastly the unreasonable delay in carrying into effect the sentences of our criminal courts, and the numerous subterfuges by which criminals evade the execution of the law. Our insatiable greed for gain, the coexistence of colossal wealth with abject poverty, the extravagance of the rich, the discontent of the poor, our eager and impetuous rushing through life, and every other moral and social delinquency, may be traced to one of the five radical vices enumerated above."

Mormonism in the aspects which once gave offense to the nation has been substantially modified since *Our Christian Heritage* was written, but the Cardinal's vigorous arguments and marshaling of statistics to show the evils of divorce were more needed at the time of his death even than when he penned the pages of the book.

As to education, he expounded the Catholic view that religious instruction ought to go hand in hand with secular instruction. He denied that the instruction given once a week in Sunday schools, "though productive of very beneficial results" was sufficient to supply the religious wants of children. "By what principle of justice," he asked, "can you store their minds with earthly knowledge for several hours each day, while their hearts, which require far more cultivation, must be content with the paltry allowance of a few weekly lessons?"

The subject of Sunday observance was much discussed in the year 1889, on account of the considerable variation of methods in that respect in rural communities and in American cities. The extreme laxity, almost amounting to non-observance, which then prevailed in a number of cities was Gibbons' reason for the stress which he put upon the subject.

There were gross election frauds in America in those days before public opinion had been aroused on the subject, and before the safeguards of the secret ballot had been perfected. Gibbons described those frauds "as the gravest menace to free institutions." His warning against the intolerable delays in many of the processes of courts of justice was one which he repeated not infrequently in public addresses.

In the midst of one of the busiest periods of his life, Gibbons found time to write his third book, *The Ambassador of Christ*. Though he was often hurried in this task by other duties, his powers of mind enabled him to concentrate on it in the intervals of interruptions. The title is taken from the twentieth verse of the fifth chapter

of II Corinthians: "For Christ we are ambassadors; God, as it were, exhorting by us." It is a book for priests, embodying the experiences and views of a man who had achieved remarkable results in developing other men for the labors of the ministry.

The origin of *The Ambassador of Christ* was an essay on the vocation of the priesthood originally intended for a magazine. Gibbons found it too long and divided it into two parts; these parts also seemed too long and he divided each of them into two more parts. Finally the idea came to him: "I will write a book on the subject"; and he proceeded to the task.

He pointed out in its pages that it was doubtful if any age or country ever presented a more inviting field for missionary labor than the United States. Catholic pastors here had a free opportunity for their spiritual efforts. "No military satrap or state functionary is permitted to enter our churches in the capacity of official censor to arrest, fine or imprison a minister of the Gospel for his conscientious utterances in vindication of social morals and in denunciation of official corruption." He set forth reasons for the view which he often expressed that Americans were fundamentally a religious people, emphatically rejecting the opinion of those who characterized them as a nation so absorbed in trade and commerce, in agriculture and politics as to give scarcely a thought to eternal truths. A people having only slight regard for Christianity, he held, would not have spent millions annually in the erection of churches and in the maintenance of home and foreign missions.

The natural virtues that are the indispensable basis

of supernatural life, he maintained, were possessed in a marked degree by the American people. They were gifted and intelligent, self-poised and deliberate, of industrious and temperate habits, frank, moral and ingenuous. They had a deep sense of justice and fair play; were brave and generous, usually showing the courage of their convictions; and, with all this, were law-abiding as a whole.

While the Catholic Church, he showed, accommodated herself to every form of government, she had a special adaptability to the American political system and to the genius of the people. As the Church was the great conservative force of society the world over, he took the ground that her influence was particularly necessary in a country of constitutional freedom, where there would be at times a tendency to extremes.

The main topics discussed in *The Ambassador of Christ* include the Divine vocation of the ministry, the duties of teachers to pupils, and of pupils to teachers; the traits which make a successful priest, and the virtues and the accomplishments which he ought to exemplify. He urged that priests should go out among their people, declaring that the visitation of the sick and distressed was the touchstone of apostolic zeal and charity. In particular, he advised attention to the young; and he paid a beautiful tribute to the Christian mother.

A reflection of his own deep and constant study of the Scriptures is found in a chapter on that subject, in which he urged with particular forcefulness the necessity of intimate communion with the Book of Books. He took strong ground in favor of congregational singing, expressing the belief that Charles Wesley had accomplished

as much in the cause of Methodism by his hymns as John Wesley had effected by preaching.

He was particularly earnest in exhorting preparation for the duties of the ministry. Learning he pronounced essential for a priest. Regarding the argument sometimes cited that the Apostles, except St. Paul, were illiterate men, he answered that apart from their spiritual inspiration they were far from being deficient in theological knowledge. They exhibited a marked familiarity with the ancient prophecies; and did they not study divinity for three years at its source? Since their day, he pointed out, education had become far more generally diffused; and the priest should keep pace with the trend of modern thought in order to make himself an effective unit in the world around him. He insisted upon the need of the poverty of the priesthood, citing Christ as the model.

His keen interest and practical experience in the management of parish schools were reflected in his advice to the clergy on that subject. He exhorted pastors to see that "next to God, their country should hold the strongest place in the affections of the children." Familiar lessons should be incorporated in the textbooks, inculcating reverence for American political institutions and embodying a knowledge of the duties and rights of the citizen. He recommended the public reading in the school room, at intervals, of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as being especially profitable instruction.

Not only in his life, but in his literary work, Gibbons was stamped as a mentor of priests. *The Faith of Our Fathers* is their best means of presenting the Catholic

faith to persons whose religious life is weakening, or to prospective converts. *The Ambassador of Christ* is, in its essentials, a textbook for the clergy and since its publication it has been used as a guide by many priests in the English-speaking world.

Gibbons' *Discourses and Sermons* are a collection of fifty-five of the principal pulpit addresses which he made in the course of his life. When he issued them in 1908, he had reached the age of seventy-four years, and they embrace therefore the substance of the entire message as a preacher which he had undertaken to deliver. They have had a large circulation and have brought comfort to thousands of Christians, including a great number who do not accept the Catholic faith.

The *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, in two volumes, is, to a large extent, a collection of his previous writings in reviews and magazines and some of his addresses and sermons delivered upon public occasions, such as church anniversaries and conventions. They include his diary of the Vatican Council, extracts from which were printed in the *Catholic World* at the time of that gathering, of which, when the *Retrospect* was issued, he was the only survivor. In general the subjects covered are Church history and political problems, an epitome of his versatile labors. His faith in America was undimmed, as shown by the following extract from the introduction to the book:

"There are few Americans living now who can remember the things which I can. I followed Mr. Lincoln's dead body in procession when it was brought to this city; I have seen every President since his death, and have

known most of them personally; I was a grown man and a priest during the Civil War when it seemed as if our country were to be permanently divided. Very few people now living have seen the country in such distress as I have seen it. But I have lived, thank God, to see it in wonderful prosperity and to behold it grown into one of the great powers of the earth.

"Younger men may tremble for the future of this country, but I can have nothing but hope when I think what we have already passed through, for I can see no troubles in the future which could equal, much less surpass, those which have afflicted us in bygone days. If only the American people will hold fast to that instrument which has been bequeathed to them as the palladium of their liberties—the Constitution of the United States, —and fear and distrust the man who would touch that ark with profane hands, the permanence of our institutions is assured.

"In my time I have seen multitudes of Europeans seeking this shore in search of liberty and hope. The men who were middle aged when I was young, doubted and feared whereunto this might grow; but I have seen men of foreign birth become one with us, and I think it no more than justice that I should call the attention of my countrymen to the reason.

"The same power which welded the Latin, Gaul, Frank, Briton and Norman into the nation of France; which welded the Briton, Saxon, Dane and Norman into the nation of England, has been present among us and has again exercised its benign influence in welding divers races into one people: That power is the Catholic Church. If there do not now lie over against each other in this country hostile nationalities with different languages, different points of view and different aspirations, it is because those who have come to us, whatever may have been their nationality, have for the most part had

one common characteristic—they have been Catholic Christians.

"When I was young, men feared the Catholic Church because they thought her foreign and un-American. Yet I have lived to see their children and their children's children acknowledge that if the different nations which have come to our shores have been united into one people, and if today there is an American people, it is largely owing to the cohesive and consolidating influence of the Christian religion of our ancestors.

"But again, many men once amongst us feared the Catholic Church because they thought her opposed to liberty; yet if they had read history, even superficially, they would have known that no liberty which they possessed has come to them except through the agency of that religion which molded our barbarian ancestors into the civilized nations of Europe. But for her there would have been no civilization today, and without civilization there could have been no liberty.

"Nor has the Church affected those only who have come to these shores and brought them in contact with American ideals. She has attracted to her communion multitudes of the native born, as she does wherever she is free to preach the Gospel; for she cannot speak to any man or woman of European descent without awakening in his or her mind the echoes of the faith of our fathers; for that is the faith the Church teaches. Her faith is the faith of the fathers, not alone of the immigrants, but also of the native born. For centuries all our fathers were born to her in Holy Baptism and died in her bosom."

CHAPTER XLIX

PERSONALITY AND PRIVATE LIFE

The personality of Gibbons was a never-ending theme among those who knew him. It was not only one of the most strongly marked that was possessed by any conspicuous leader of his time; it was also one of the most fascinating and versatile.

No man probably ever appeared in more different rôles with the same appearance of equal ease. This amounted almost to causing the equivalent of an impression that he was several different men in one and could transform himself from one to another by mere thought.

The extreme mobility of his countenance contributed both to the appearance and the reality of his versatility. His features seldom seemed to be in precisely the same alignment on any two occasions. The difference might be slight or marked at various times, but there was no mistaking the fact that a difference existed. He was the despair of photographers, who could never obtain two views of him that were exactly alike, and of painters and sculptors, for whom he did not retain a fixed expression long enough for them to reproduce it to their own satisfaction. He was not merely a man of numerous moods, but seemed to have an infinity of them.

In the blend of home life and work in his archiepiscopal residence his many-sided character was abundantly

in evidence. During about fifteen hours of every day he was constantly occupied, and his endurance was a baffling manifestation to those who were aware that his health was not of the best. His activity continued with only slight impairment up to the time of his last illness. Even beyond the age of eighty he accomplished more than most men in their prime, although the gradually increasing effort which was required to do this became apparent.

He accounted for his own vital force by saying that it was due to "regular habits, consistent diet, plenty of fresh air and periodical exercise of the mind and body." Another cause was his habit of moderation, for he exemplified to a marked degree the Greek motto "nothing too much." Still another was an habitual optimism and cheerfulness, the effects of which were apparent in slowing up the decline which age might otherwise have brought. Always he was looking ahead to something to be done that was worth doing, and he undertook nothing without a buoyant belief that he would succeed. His mind and nervous system were constantly stimulated by this process of courageous anticipation.

One physical gift of immense value to him was the fact that his nerves appeared to be under complete control at nearly all times. His habits of thought and action were steady, consistent and logical, rather than temperamental, although at rare intervals a vein of the temperamental was evident. His firm and penetrating but kindly gaze reflected the solidity and alert poise of his mind. It was virtually impossible to disconcert him by surprise or any other artifice.

His habit of being busily occupied in a great variety

of duties diverted his mind from his physical defects. Notwithstanding this, he fell into a habit, which necessity imposed early in life, of taking the best care of his general physical condition and of undergoing no risks, with the single exception of prolonged exertion, which might affect it adversely.

The climate of Baltimore, though on the whole pleasant and salubrious, is changeable because the city is on an isothermal line where the characteristics of the weather in the northern states and the southern states blend. This involves the necessity of care in the matter of dress to the residents of the city and Gibbons had his own ideas about the attire which suited the climate. In cold weather he never "bundled up," no matter what the temperature. When he was in the prime of life, he was accustomed to wear a medium-weight overcoat in winter and omitted all special protection of the neck and throat. Sometimes he wore no gloves out of doors in the cold months, but occasionally appeared in comparatively thin ones of kid. He disliked to wear overshoes and was accustomed to take long tramps in the snow without them, but if the pavements were slushy or unusually damp from rain he would sometimes wear a pair of half-rubbers to prevent the soles of his feet from becoming wet.

In his walks he appeared in a suit of the plain black cloth which priests wear, of good but cheap material and without distinctiveness of any kind. The only marks of dress to indicate his rank were the touch of red at the throat and the red zucchetto, the rim of which showed below the back of his hat. For many years he was accustomed to wear a silk hat on most of his walks, or in

summer a straw hat of the somber color used by American clergymen; but in later years he was partial to the broad-brimmed, black felt hat with a round, low crown, which many Bishops and priests wear in Europe, and some in the United States.

His customary attire at home was a black cassock and a cape edged with red. Only rarely did he wear a cassock entirely of red. In the privacy of his study his form was concealed by a dressing gown. He wished to wear light clothing as a rule indoors, and avoided overheating his residence in winter, although he was careful to seek an even temperature in the house at all times.

So regular were his habits that a priest of his household once remarked that "the clock in the residence could be set by the time when the Cardinal rises and when he goes to bed." This was also true, to a large extent, of some of the other divisions of time into which he separated the day's activities.

Every morning he arose at six o'clock. His bedroom was of the simplest. It contained a walnut bed, a dressing table, a wardrobe and a chest of drawers. For years its appearance remained unchanged. So averse was the Cardinal to innovations in personal habits that he continued to use an old-time pitcher and wash basin for his ordinary ablutions long after the development of plumbing brought the common use of running water in bedrooms. Priests are usually slow to make changes in living conditions which merely minister to their own comfort, and the Cardinal shared this disposition.

He kept in his bedroom two pieces of apparatus for muscular development and used them for a few minutes

after dressing every morning. One of them was for bringing elasticity and strength to the arms; the other to the body and legs. He called this process, as many athletes do, "limbering up," and considered it to be especially valuable in stimulating his vitality for the day's stress.

Twenty minutes after the Cardinal arose, he was fully dressed and ready for the routine of the day. The next thirty-five minutes he spent in morning prayers and meditations in his room, his favorite subjects for spiritual reflection in that period being the Gospels or the epistles of St. Paul. At seven o'clock punctually he entered the Cathedral and began the celebration of his daily Mass, a service which was attended often by hundreds of persons. The Mass was ended at half past seven and after it he spent twenty minutes in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament (Thanksgiving after Mass).

He then turned his attention to secular things, returning to his study in the southeast corner of his residence and devoting about ten minutes to glancing over his morning mail and newspapers. At eight o'clock he was called to breakfast.

By that time he had developed some degree of appetite, but was most careful to eat sparingly and to avoid partaking of anything outside a small range of foods which, he had learned from experience, he was usually able to assimilate. Every day in the year, except during Lent and on Fridays and other days of abstinence, the dishes were almost the same. In Lent he restricted the meal to a small portion of bread and a cup of coffee.

Immediately after breakfast the Cardinal returned to

his study and read the day's newspapers rapidly but with discriminating perception as to their contents. Always keenly interested in Baltimore, he was accustomed to read the local news first, and sometimes made notes of things that interested him or were important to him. Next, he hastily scanned the news of America and the world, in not a little of which he had a direct concern. The developments of government and politics in this country and abroad were particularly absorbing to him as a result of his natural bent for the consideration of public questions. He derived much pleasure from studying the editorials, expressing sometimes to his secretary, if that functionary happened to be present, his agreement or disagreement with the views set forth.

Soon the Cardinal turned to the work of disposing of his mail, which was, naturally, exceptionally voluminous and varied. There might be a letter from the Pope or one or more of the Cardinals in Rome who were the heads of the bureaus of the Church. These required careful thought both as to their substance and the wording of the replies, and Gibbons often put them aside in order to write the answers in Latin in his own hand. There might also be a letter from the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, some other member of the Cabinet, an American governor, or one of the diplomatic corps stationed in Washington. Many of these also he answered personally, being able to write rapidly in his small and legible hand and apparently feeling little fatigue from doing so. If he dictated replies to such letters, he was extremely precise as to every word, sometimes ris-

ing from his chair and pacing up and down the floor with his hands behind his back, as he framed the answer for his secretary to take down.

While dictating, the expression of his countenance was one of intense concentration. His eye was as keen as the glistening point of a lance; his features were the picture of alertness, resourcefulness, speed, like those of a lithe runner about to dart across the starting line for a race. Every word came out with a clear-cut precision of thought that seemed to pierce to the heart of all obscurity. He almost leaped from one letter or document to another until the last of them had been disposed of. Then his high-speed mental engine stopped; but he could start it again at the same speed, if need be, at a moment's notice.

The other American Archbishops were in frequent correspondence with him, and their letters received painstaking attention. Much of his correspondence related to his own diocese, upon which he held the reins as firmly as any Bishop in the world. No matter what his general preoccupations might be, he was always ready to advise one of his priests as to any problem which appeared to be difficult, whether it might be the raising of funds to build a church or a rectory; the establishment of a mission, or a disciplinary question that might arise within a parish. The priests were not slow to consult him about many details, knowing his habit of devoting careful attention to them; and, besides, not a few of them wrote to him upon subjects which were purely personal. There were also hundreds in secular walks of life who wrote to him upon personal topics, many of which might have appeared insignificant in the Cardinal's widely extended

perspective, but few of which he was accustomed to ignore. His letters to these correspondents were usually of moderate length, but he always avoided the brevity which might suggest brusqueness.

Applications for help were numerous in his mail. Some persons wished financial assistance, either for causes which they represented or for themselves; others besought his endorsement of their applications for positions in the business world. Naturally many persons whose minds were unbalanced on the subject of religion wrote to him, some of their communications being a score of pages in length.

Besides all these there was a deluge of advertisements of many kinds and offers of stock in mines, industrial enterprises and land schemes, either as gifts or sales, such as Americans of prominence receive. Publishers sent to him many books. The political pamphleteers and other pleaders did not fail to address their appeals to so powerful a figure in national life. Many of these communications obviously required no answer.

The Cardinal's mind was then functioning at its best, which meant that he was capable of more intellectual action in an instant than most persons are capable of in hours. When he was in the prime of life the position of his secretary was not without its trials. He did not personally write or dictate all his letters, because the time consumed by that process would have been too long. Not infrequently, where the circumstances permitted, he would toss a letter to his secretary, giving the substance of his reply, and saying to him: "Answer along these lines."

There were some exceptionally gifted men who were assigned to transcribe his correspondence at one period or another, but it was almost impossible for any of them to keep up with the whirlwind speed of the Cardinal's mind. At the end of half an hour or more, when he had finished and they left his study, their senses were almost benumbed by the task which had been given to them. If they failed in some particular, Gibbons was indulgent and forgiving; but this only softened and did not remove the apprehension with which the secretary sat down in his own room to transfer to formal communications the thoughts which had flashed so rapidly from the brilliant brain of the Cardinal.

Correspondence with Rome and with Catholic prelates elsewhere occupied a part of virtually every day. Even after the establishment of the Papal legation at Washington, Gibbons' position made it necessary that much of the American correspondence with Rome should continue to center in him.

Every Christmas he was accustomed to send to each of his fellow Cardinals and to the Catholic sovereigns of Europe letters wishing them prosperity, and offering prayers in their behalf. Before the World War these letters were addressed to the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Spain, Belgium and Saxony, and the Prince Regent of Bavaria. After the war he continued to send them to the Spanish and Belgian monarchs.

His correspondence with all the later Presidents was frequent, as well as with many cabinet officers and heads of bureaus in Washington. Not a few of these sought

his advice upon general subjects. His reach in American affairs seemed to penetrate almost everywhere.

He was invited, in some of the letters that he received, to furnish material for debating societies. Requests were made that he define views on government or current events, and general questions were propounded to him. It was characteristic of him that he took the pains to answer as many of these communications as possible in a way that would satisfy the inquirers.

Having finished with the mass of his correspondence, Gibbons was accustomed to take up diocesan financial affairs and his private business, which were not small in volume. As the property of the Church in an American diocese is held in the name of the Bishop, his judgment and assent were necessary as to many details of financial administration in the parishes. Bequests whose total amounted to millions of dollars were made to him personally, it being expected, of course, that he would distribute the proceeds in works for the Church or general benevolence. The royalties upon his books brought him a large sum which was all his own; but he spent this almost as rapidly as it came, and never on himself or his own comforts.

His charities were without number and unknown to any individual except himself. His fixed habit in regard to them was not to let his left hand know what his right hand did, and nothing could induce him to depart from it. Some of the money which he bestowed, apart from that devoted directly to Church purposes, went to educational and other institutions in the diocese of Baltimore,

including the Catholic University. He also paid from time to time for repairs and improvements to his titular church in Rome, that of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and on one occasion gave $4,500 for placing a new roof upon it.

He was constantly bestowing gifts upon persons who needed them, including clothing and books, and gave prompt attention to every bill for those things that was sent to him. Many students received assistance from him. Some of these were young men preparing for the priesthood; others were acquiring a general education in Catholic institutions. Among the last named were girls or young women who had become orphaned, or who, for some other reason, were suddenly left without funds while their education was incomplete. Not one of them knew who it was who paid for their tuition, books, clothes and even the expenses of vacation trips.

The Cardinal's benefactions were freely given to those who applied to him directly. The following actual case was one of many: An elderly woman approached him as he was entering his residence. She told him that she was in want, related the circumstances and named the amount which would relieve her necessities. The Cardinal replied:

"My good daughter, I am sorry to hear of your plight. Surely you will receive the necessary assistance. Now go in peace."

He immediately called an attaché of the archiepiscopal house, telling him to take the woman's name and see that help was sent to her. She went on her way, and he raised his hand in blessing and proceeded to his room.

It would be appraising the Cardinal's benefactions unfairly to assume that they consisted wholly of financial aid. He was accustomed to mingle good counsel and personal effort with the assistance which he extended. The fact that any person was in distress appealed to him instantly, and he did not always stop to inquire as to the reason. He would take time that might have been devoted to far weightier things to listen to accounts of individual troubles and to lend his sympathetic and active efforts toward permanently assuaging them. Of all the things in life which gave him satisfaction this was probably the first. Although sometimes persons in his household would catch a clue to one or more of his acts of this kind, he showed great ingenuity in concealing them. The best indication of their aggregate mass was the fact that dozens of individuals placed in positions of responsibility for the care of young persons and the poor considered the Cardinal to be their benefactor and helper, ready to give to the utmost of his ability and to devote his time to them, as if that were the only concern which he had.

So much did he give away that he was sometimes seriously embarrassed for lack of funds, although he abhorred debt and sought never to contract it. Once he said to a friend:

"I have not a dollar in the world; if I had, I would pay the debt upon Gibbons' Hall.[1] As it has been erected and bears my name, I am uneasy that any incumbrance hangs over it."

So rapidy did Gibbons work that by ten o'clock every week day morning he was ready to receive callers. From

[1] At the Catholic University.

ten to twelve any person who went to his residence with a legitimate mission could see him. There are two reception rooms in the house, and often there were callers in both, as well as in a third room near-by which was brought into use in order to provide for any overflow. The audiences were arranged so that wherever it seemed proper the Cardinal could receive his visitors individually.

Now and then, when there was a lull, he would trip up the stairs to his study, often two steps at a time, seldom placing his hand upon the railing of the staircase for support. At the appearance of the next visitor, he would descend with unruffled calm, as if the new caller were the first who had come to see him that morning.

Many of his visitors were men distinguished in ecclesiastical or public life. There might be foreign diplomats or noblemen, American statesmen, politicians, bankers, merchants, authors, scientists, even actors and actresses, some of whom called upon business and others merely to pay their respects. Almost every distinguished visitor to Baltimore who felt that it was proper for him to call upon the Cardinal did so. European writers and persons of note who were making tours of the country usually diverted their travels so that they might visit the famous prelate. One and all of these expressed amazement, as well they might, at the range of his knowledge of the subjects which particularly interested them, including conditions in their own countries.

Few men knew as well as he how to end a visit without disturbing the sensibilities of the caller, who usually left with a feeling of having been complimented by the especial attention bestowed.

Among his visitors were non-Catholic ministers, some of whom, strange to say, consulted him about questions relating to religion in regard to which they valued his opinion more than those of men high in their own communions.

Gibbons never attended a theater, so the actors and actresses who visited him called, as a rule, because they were devout Catholics and wished to pay their respects to him while they were in Baltimore. He recognized that some plays might be good, in fact beneficial to the moral nature, as well as entertaining, yet he regarded so many of them as evil in their effects upon the mind that he could never bring himself to witness even one. He was well acquainted with William J. Florence, Mary Anderson, Margaret Anglin and a number of other leading stage folk, to whom he showed the utmost kindness when the opportunity permitted. Mary Anderson (Mrs. Navarro) he regarded as a model of what a woman on the stage ought to be, and she, in turn, was devoted to him. After she had abandoned a theatrical career and taken up her residence in England she esteemed it an honor to visit him whenever his presence in that country made it possible.

Sometimes he received special invitations to attend theatrical performances. When he was Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, Edwin Forrest played in Wilmington and sent a member of his company to invite Gibbons to occupy a box at the performance. The emissary was, perhaps, not well chosen, for this is the way he expressed himself:

"Bishop, it is a question mooted among moralists as to

whether the stage, the press or the pulpit is the greatest force for the advancement of religious and moral ideas. As a member of the theatrical profession, I hesitate to express my opinion."

The Bishop might have considered that he had ground for assuming that the opinion which the actor withheld was that the theatrical profession ranked first in this respect. At any rate, he declined with thanks the invitation which was presented.

European visitors were surprised at the ease with which it was possible to arrange an audience with the Cardinal. Naturally influenced by conditions which prevailed in their own countries, they supposed that much formality was necessary both in obtaining his consent to an interview and as to the form of the interview itself. In both of these matters they were greatly mistaken.

At the front door, instead of the liveried footman who acts as usher for princes of the Church in Europe, was a boy usually between thirteen and seventeen years old, dressed in ordinary street clothes, who received cards and carried them to Gibbons. All appearance of state or of more than the simplest formality was lacking. The real democracy of Gibbons' life was nowhere better shown than in the manner of his public receptions.

His habit of meeting any person who called led sometimes to embarassing incidents, and on one occasion to serious personal danger to himself. A man who the Baltimore police said was a persistent criminal was found on the street in the dress of a Catholic priest. It was charged that he had attempted to obtain money fraudulently from a business firm. When arrested, the man

said that he was a priest and asked to be taken to the Cardinal's residence, so that he could prove his identity. Detectives, relying upon the Cardinal's good nature and his willingness to receive all, took the man to the archiepiscopal house and requested Gibbons to examine him. The Cardinal at once asked that the suspect be left alone in the room with him for a few moments in order that he might question him.

As Gibbons closed the door the man stood threateningly, with his hand in his overcoat pocket as if he might draw a pistol. The Cardinal faced him fearlessly. Only a few moments were required for him to ascertain definitely that the man was an impostor, and he pronounced him such with the utmost coolness. The detectives were again summoned and when the Cardinal had informed them that the man was not a priest they took him away to be arraigned. At the police station he drew a pistol from his overcoat pocket and fired two shots. Later the same man attempted to escape from jail and was only prevented from doing so by the breaking of a rope.

Not infrequently persons who were somewhat unbalanced mentally contrived to obtain audiences with the Cardinal, but his kindness and cordiality combined with his ever-present tact usually caused them to reconsider their desire to become disagreeable in any way. In May, 1899, a demented Baltimore mechanic called at his residence, and, upon being told that the Cardinal was out, attempted to break in the door. He threatened to kill the boy usher, and finally forced his way into the house, where one of the Cathedral clergy contrived to save the situation by the exercise of ready wit. Inviting the in-

truder into a room, he closed the door and kept him a prisoner until a policeman arrived.

At noon Gibbons suspended his public audiences for the time being, unless callers were waiting, or unless there was special reason to see some one who arrived after that time. He then retired to his study and spent half an hour in the reading of his office, the daily spiritual exercise prescribed by the Church.

Changing to street clothes and taking his hat and cane, he started about half past twelve for his first daily walk. His habitually cheerful mood became blithe and buoyant as soon as he reached the open air, and, with the more serious cares brushed aside, he started briskly through the streets of downtown Baltimore.

Usually the Cardinal had some goal in these journeys. Often he stopped at a bank where he was accustomed to attend to his personal finances. Sometimes he went to a book store, where his eye roved over the new acquisitions, and he bought what he wished for himself, as well as made occasional purchases of gifts for others. Again his jaunt was through the busiest part of the city to the office of his close friend, Michael Jenkins, the president of a trust company, who was also the treasurer of the Catholic University, and with whom he often considered problems developed by the extraordinarily rapid growth of that institution. If his watch, his spectacles, or any little personal article needed repairs, he would stop in places where these things could be attended to. Now and then he visited one of the convents near the center of the city, and not infrequently took the opportunity to call upon a sick friend who, needless to say, was im-

mensely consoled by the considerate personal attentions of so distinguished a man.

The revelation of the Cardinal's list of personal acquaintances was little short of overpowering to persons who were invited now and then to accompany him on these midday excursions. As he passed along the busy streets, he seemed to be almost continually lifting his hat, and he called by name many of the persons with whom he exchanged salutations. These acquaintances were of almost endless variety. They embraced, of course, almost the whole body of the leading men of Baltimore in nearly every walk of life, but from this apex they reached far down until they included newsboys, upon whom the Cardinal was not unlikely to bestow more time and attention than persons far above them in station. Occasionally he would stop to buy out-of-town newspapers from one of these boys, to drop a silver coin into his hand and to exchange a few pleasant words.

The Cardinal's custom of buying newspapers in the course of his walks soon became known among newsboys generally, and five or six would rush to meet him, each making a desperate effort to reach him first. He would seem greatly amused, but always picked out the boy from whom he was accustomed to purchase.

It is not usual for an Archbishop to possess a personal acquaintance so large as to excite remark, but for many years Gibbons had one far larger than any other man in Baltimore. His intimates accepted this as a truism, but no matter how well they were aware of the general range of his personal relations they found new amazement each time they accompanied him on his midday

walks from observing the number who saluted him, and were saluted in turn, in such a short distance as from one street corner to another. Strangest of all, he seemed to be an intimate part of the daily lives of those with whom he exchanged salutations, sharing their joys and sorrows—a fountain from which a thousand streams flowed.

At twenty minutes past one o'clock, punctual as always, the Cardinal returned to his residence and ten minutes later was seated at dinner. This was his most abundant meal of the day, as he had found from experience that hearty meals in the morning and evening usually deranged his digestion. Dinner was to him one of the main events of the day, and almost always he sat down to the table in high spirits, radiating zest, pleasantry and anecdote. The weakness of his digestion imposed upon him the practise of eating slowly, and he faithfully followed the precepts of Fletcher, often taking a long time to eat what to the average person would be a very slender meal. For dinner the Cardinal not uncommonly had a guest or two, perhaps a visiting Bishop, priest or layman. To these he was always hospitable and entertaining, with a grace that seemed unique, keeping up his spirited conversation and laughing heartily at times.

When only priests of the household were present, Gibbons led the conversation on terms of easy friendship with them, and talked freely of events of the day, persons, places and things, telling many stories and giving forth a flood of information which made the period one of great profit to young clergymen.

At dinner, as at breakfast, he chose his menu carefully

and it was practically the same from day to day and year to year, except on fast days. Intricately prepared or highly seasoned dishes were always excluded from his table.

Dinner usually consumed about three-quarters of an hour, after which the Cardinal returned to his study. Now began the only interval of the day in which he secluded himself. No matter where he was, or what subject was occupying him, he attempted to sleep for an hour after the midday dinner. He formed this habit early in life and continued it because it enabled him to recuperate amazingly. Sometimes he was able to recline and sleep soundly during that period, but often, especially in later years, he could not do so, and rested in a big leather-covered chair with all cares and preoccupations dismissed from his mind.

By three o'clock he had fully recovered from fatigue, no matter how trying the duties of the morning had been. Sometimes these duties included preaching, the ordination of priests, or the long process of confirming a numerous class. Almost always he arose from his rest thoroughly refreshed for new occupations.

He then resumed the reading of his office and at the conclusion of this long exercise indulged in a cigar—often his first of the day. He used to say that he did not smoke until he was past thirty years of age, and even then not from preference, but in order to prevent other persons who wished to smoke from being constrained in his presence.

Until half past four o'clock he remained in his residence for afternoon audiences, tripping down the steps

to receive callers as in the morning, and returning at intervals. It was during this part of the day that priests of the diocese usually called upon him. When they were with him, if a shadow rested because of the rigid self-discipline of ecclesiastical life, he dispelled it with the sweet sunshine of a joyous and elastic nature. Even as he celebrated with deep devotion the commemoration of Golgotha, his heart was buoyant with the eternal hope born of the deliverance on the first Easter day. To him life was brightness, and the mercy that removed the stains of the thief on the Cross was ever ready for the humblest of men. The thought of diffusing joy was as much a part of him as the thought of service—in fact, he counted it service to make men happy as well as good.

When the period for these audiences had ended, he began his second and longest walk of the day. This usually lasted for at least an hour and often much longer. He always traversed several miles in the residential section of the city, even in severe weather, bowing as before to acquaintances seemingly without number. In the prime of his physical activity he sometimes walked ten or more miles a day and persons who accompanied him found the ordeal so exhausting that some of them were compelled to ask his permission to leave before the trip was concluded.

He walked at a brisk pace with a long stride, after the manner of men accustomed to pedestrianism. His head was usually slightly bowed, but his quick eyes observed everything around him. Now and then he invited distinguished visitors to accompany him upon these walks,

but if he intended to make the journey a long one, he sometimes warned them in advance that they might find the exercise trying.

These excursions were a source of immense refreshment to the Cardinal. He varied his route from time to time, but always returned to the Cathedral, where he stopped for a visit of fifteen minutes to the Blessed Sacrament. At half past six o'clock came a light supper, followed by another cigar.

The heavier cares of the day having now passed, the Cardinal spent the early evening in the quiet of his study, seeking the solace of a book or perhaps a chat with an intimate friend. At half past seven o'clock he said his rosary, or, if he happened to be going out to dinner, he performed that act of devotion before leaving the house; nothing was permitted to interfere with it. From half past nine to a quarter of ten he recited his night prayers, and at ten o'clock he was in bed, allowing nothing, save some extraordinary circumstance, to interfere.

The total time which he spent in devotions was never less than three and a half to four hours daily, unless he was afflicted by particularly severe illness. The reading of his office alone consumed about an hour and a half. This consists of matins and lauds, three quarters of an hour; the "Little Hours," twenty minutes to half an hour, and vespers and complin, fifteen minutes. In the United States it is customary to say the matins and lauds [2] last, and Gibbons followed this method. At nine o'clock punctually, in the midst of his busy mornings, he began with

[2] Of the next day.

the "Little Hours," which many priests, who have far less exacting duties, are inclined to put off until later. Added to his numerous acts of daily devotion, he went to confession once a week at St. Mary's Seminary, and annually joined in the retreat there.

It was remarked that he never performed his private devotions where others could see him; his devotional life was "hidden with Christ in God."

Away from home the Cardinal varied his daily routine as little as possible. It is safe to say that no Bishop in the world was more punctilious in attending to his diocesan duties, which required many journeys. He continued these journeys up to the time of his last illness, and until he was eighty years old spared himself nothing in the way of physical exertion in the course of them.

An instance may be given: When he was seventy-six years old he made a diocesan trip to Southern Maryland. Leaving Baltimore in the morning, he went to Washington, took a boat down the Potomac River in the afternoon, arrived at Leonardtown, St. Mary's County, at sunrise the next morning, pontificated at a solemn High Mass at ten o'clock, attended a jubilee celebration of a girls' seminary the entire afternoon and received several hundred of the residents of the town in the evening. On the five following days he went through virtually the same protracted exertion, traveling over rough roads in a carriage, visiting a dozen churches, confirming more than one thousand persons, preaching many times and shaking hands with thousands. There was rain on two of these days, and traveling was difficult.

Visitors from abroad, particularly those from Catholic

countries, wrote much of their observations of Gibbons in Baltimore. One of these was Abbé Felix Klein, professor in the Catholic Institute of Paris, who thus recorded his impressions:

"At four o'clock we started for a drive. Usually the Cardinal walks, but today he takes a carriage in order that I may see more of the city. Almost everybody salutes him.

"During our trip we had time to talk of many persons and many things. A part of our conversation may perhaps be repeated without indiscretion. The Cardinal praised highly the devoted wisdom of Father Magnien, the former superior of the Baltimore Seminary, who was foremost in his confidence and friendship. He inquired about the Montalembert family, who had some relations with him, and who bear a name that he esteems among the most honorable in the world. He asked news of Paul Bourget, whose visit, some years ago, deeply interested him; he was astonished at the accuracy with which the author of 'Outre-Mer' was able, without having taken notes, to reproduce their conversation. . . .

"Our talk drifted to some more general questions. When the Cardinal speaks of America, his words breathe the warmest admiration for her institutions; comparison of them with those of other countries is not able to chill his sentiments. He rejoices in the splendid possibilities which the common freedom opens to the Church and to all well-meaning persons. He is pleased to see Catholics play the part of good citizens in the affairs of the country; he himself sets the example whenever occasion arises. His countrymen like to invite him to the great public ceremonies, at which a place is reserved for him next to the President.

"How important the work of Cardinal Gibbons has been I had fresh opportunities of learning during this

visit to Baltimore. His Eminence honored me with several interviews, and we were together for a long ride through the beautiful country that surrounds his episcopal city. From this intercourse with him, I carried away a deep impression of the wisdom, prudence and tact with which this true shepherd of souls has led his people into the ways of fidelity to Catholic teaching, respect for the convictions of others, loyalty to country, and generous sympathy for the noble aspirations of our age.

"At the beginning of my sojourn in America, I should doubtless have less readily appreciated the mental qualities of the Cardinal, which are solid and just, rather than conspicuous and daring; or his achievements, which are substantial, rather than ostentatious; or, again, his eloquence, which he prefers should be of practical use, rather than for literary display; or, finally, that combination of traits of character which makes a true and genuine man, rather than the mere appearance of one. I say, I should not have been prepared at first properly to estimate all this; but as I became more familiar with American conditions, and more permeated with the American spirit—a spirit which is simple, practical, frank, optimistic and tolerant—I understood how greatly favored the Church has been in having for leaders men like Cardinal Gibbons; men who know and love their country, and in their own character exhibit in a high degree the qualities most dear to Americans. . . .

"How favored a place Baltimore is for great ecclesiastical events, the opportunities it affords for picking up ecclesiastical information and meeting distinguished churchmen, I learned from many indications during the three days I spent there. Mgr. Kain, Archbishop of St. Louis, who had come to the city some months previously to seek medical care at a sanitarium of the Sisters of Charity, died the day after my arrival. He left behind him the memory of an apostle, of a man of faith, forti-

tude and wisdom. On the third day of my visit, I found at dinner with Cardinal Gibbons, Mgr. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate. I remember with what lively sympathy he expressed himself on the religious conditions of the United States. He had lived there long enough to understand those conditions, and to appreciate them correctly. Happening to discuss with him affairs in France, and anxious to learn his opinion of the separation of Church and State in France, I was surprised, and, to be frank, delighted, to find that the prospect of such a separation far from disquieted him. He saw in such an event the way of deliverance; a rough way, indeed, but the only one that could lead to a revival of the religious life of France." [3]

The distinctive atmosphere which surrounded Gibbons in his home was best exemplified, perhaps, in his annual New Year receptions, which he kept up until the year preceding his death. Not to have attended "the Cardinal's reception" was almost a mark of reproach in certain circles of Baltimore. The mayor and living ex-mayors of the city were almost always there, and not infrequently the governor of the State. Protestants mingled with Catholics in the great crowd which stretched far along Charles Street, all eager to shake the hand of America's foremost churchman, and to receive the cheerful words and the smile with which he invariably greeted the callers. Mothers brought their children, many of whom Gibbons knew by name no less than the prominent men who thronged his residence on such occasions.

His ready wit, flashing suddenly at intervals, kept every one in good humor; and even in later years he was

[3] Klein, *The Land of the Strenuous Life*, p. 233 *et seq.*

able to preserve the buoyancy of his spirits for hours while a long line of visitors was passing him. Now and then he paused to tell a story or to exchange a reminiscence. It would have been impossible for him to shake hands with all who came, and hundreds, wishing to avoid fatiguing the distinguished host, were in the habit of leaving their cards and then retiring. Strangers who occasionally attended these affairs were amazed at the demonstration of the complete respect and warm affection on the part of the people, without regard to religious belief, for one whom they esteemed above all as a man as much as a churchman, catholic in the broad sense of that term.

As any one who chose to come could attend these receptions, embarrassing incidents arose occasionally. At one of them, twelve girls dressed in white and wearing broad red sashes appeared. They marched compactly up the center of the room and knelt before the Cardinal. One of them who spoke for the group said:

"We represent the Independent Polish Church, and we come before you to ask that you take us all back into the Catholic Church, which we regret with all our hearts having left."

The people of the church in question, after many stormy dissensions, had previously appealed to Gibbons to be restored to the Catholic Church in a body, desiring to continue the use of their own place of worship under new conditions. He had taken the stand that he could not assume the burden of the church property, and that the members, as individuals, should join one of the other churches in the neighborhood, where there was ample

room for them. The visit of the girls had been planned, it developed, as a final appeal.

Gibbons, preserving his composure, asked the spokesman:

"Did you go to Mass this morning, my child?"

"Yes," she replied.

"Where?" he asked.

"At Holy Rosary Church," she answered, "but it was crowded all the time—and——"

A man who had been conducting the delegation warned the spokesman at this point to be careful. Gibbons raised the girl to her feet and said:

"There are plenty of churches for all of you to attend. I thank you for your kindness."

Some flowers and a silk banner which the girls had brought were deposited upon a table, and they departed, while the reception proceeded as before.

Gibbons was also accustomed to hold New Year receptions in Washington, at which members of the cabinet, Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Senate and House of Representatives, officers of the Army and Navy and foreign envoys were always present. He attached great importance to all of his duties in Washington, and when some high ecclesiastics in Rome favored severing that city from his archdiocese, he obtained a promise from Pius X that it would not be separated.

One would have to go back, perhaps, to Pericles in Athens for a parallel to Gibbons' overshadowing prominence in the city in which he lived. Of those whom the attraction of his fame and personality drew to the city,

some wished to greet him as the author of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, and he was always delighted at such evidences of the wide reach of his appeal. A Swedish nobleman was one of those who called upon him and said that he had become a Catholic through the reading of that book. For many years, he told Gibbons, he had cherished one great wish, and that was to meet the distinguished churchman whose treatise had brought him within the Catholic fold.[4]

Probably he received more adulation than any other American of his time, even Presidents, for the plaudits which are showered upon the head of the State usually subside in a marked degree after his term of office. There was never any sign that Gibbons cared for these things. Promotions and honors even seemed to weary him. When he was asked upon one occasion if he could recall which of the honors conferred upon him had given him the greatest pleasure, he said:

"There was really more of pain than pleasure in these events. I was but a young priest when I was made a Bishop, and the appointment filled me more with apprehension than with sensations of pleasure. The responsibility which the position involved oppressed me with anxiety. Nor was the anxiety diminished by any of my subsequent elevations. Each new advancement only increased the grave sense of the responsibility which it imposed."

More in the aggregate was written about him in magazines and newspapers than of any other American in all

[4] Smith and Fitzpatrick, *Cardinal Gibbons, Churchman and Citizen*, p. 82.

the history of the country. This was an index of the popular estimate of his place in the life of America. Requests for articles and interviews flooded him, and he could grant only a small portion of them. During the last thirty years of his life many of the Associated Press dispatches sent out from Baltimore were about himself.

He made no attempt to control what was printed about him, and did not request that articles obtained from him in conversation should be submitted to him for revision, although he was willing to revise them when requested to do so. At all times he trusted in the freedom of the press, believing that to be the best corrective of popular error, even though individuals might suffer. Many men and women connected with magazines and newspapers who were sent to him to obtain interviews became warmly attached to him.

Gibbons had a strong natural disposition to exalt simple manhood, rather than rank or station. He made allowance at all times for the frailties and failings of men, provided these lapses did not spring from wickedness. Scorning affectation himself, he wished all who came in contact with him to be natural and at their ease. In his address at the elevation of Archbishop Farley to the cardinalate in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, he said:

"I read the other day a report of some discourses by eloquent orators of New York. Those discourses, I believe, were delivered in one of your large halls, and the object of the speakers was to refer to the Cardinal [Farley] during the various phases of his singularly

beneficent life. One of the orators spoke of him as a priest; another referred to him as a Bishop; still another as an Archbishop; and the fourth as a Cardinal; but, I think, so far as I can remember, there was no reference made to Archbishop Farley the man. After all, the man is everything. It is not the Cardinal that ennobles the man; it is the man that ennobles the Cardinal."

Sometimes he cited the life stories of the Apostles as showing that men who rise to great heights do not lack the faults and weaknesses of human nature. He emphasized this point when he read Purcell's biography of Cardinal Manning, being struck especially by the letter in which Newman told Manning that "I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you." [5] He commented that it made the portrait of Manning more convincing, in that he was not represented as superhuman. Speaking once of his difficulty in convincing some members of the Hierarchy and other churchmen who were on sides opposite to his own in acute controversies, he exclaimed:

"Ah, the saints on earth! They are sometimes very trying. But the saints in heaven—that is different."

One of Gibbons' habits was never to be late at an appointment. Generally he arrived a few minutes before the time fixed. He was always early in attendance at Mass, and set an example to tardy associates. On rare occasions he chided them in a good-natured way because of their slowness, but usually was inclined to be tolerant in this respect.

The Rev. L. R. Stickney, the last rector of the Baltimore Cathedral who served under Gibbons, said of him:

[5] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning,* Vol. II, p. 346.

"In the thousand little details of life I could always approach him with the freedom of a child, certain of a patient reception. Now it was a book to be autographed, now a photograph to be signed, or word brought that a visitor awaited him in the reception-room. Whatever the request and how often soever repeated, it was always met with a courteous 'Thank you for your trouble.'

"Often when official business brought me unexpectedly to his room, I would find him at prayer kneeling at his well-worn prie-dieu, or pacing up and down, his beads between his fingers, when he would pause for an instant to take count where he had finished."

That part of Charles Street where the archiepiscopal house stands has been transformed in part by the encroachments of business. Mansions once occupied by the scions of colonial aristocracy and by leaders of the gay world of fashion have been given over to trade, preserving only their architecture as a reminder of the glory that was once theirs. The Cardinal's residence stands in the dignified elegance of older days. It is still a favorite object of interest to visitors; and to hundreds of Baltimoreans who walk from their uptown homes to the center of the city it is a landmark. In front of it are flower beds, which blaze with beauty every Spring and Summer, when passers-by in Gibbons' lifetime paused to watch what they learned to call "the Cardinal's tulips." The flowers were usually of different kinds and colors, but often there was a bed of brilliant scarlet tulips which matched the color of the Cardinal's robes of state.

CHAPTER L

SOCIAL HABITS—FRIENDSHIPS

Gibbons was a master of the social graces and in the exercise of them was probably without a peer in his native city, where they are cultivated to a degree uncommon elsewhere in America. He went out rather frequently to dinner with friends and said: "I dine out because Christ dined out." Mingling with people in many phases of life seemed to him to afford opportunities of reaching them which it was his duty not to neglect. Being informed upon a certain occasion that another Archbishop customarily declined invitations to dinner, he remarked: "It is a great pity that the Archbishop refuses the invitations of these people. What an opportunity of doing good!" [1]

Arriving for dinner or for attendance at a fashionable reception, he became instantly the focus of attention. The guests, young and old, crowded around him to shake his hand and receive words of greeting and compliment, which few knew so well how to bestow as he.

Usually he was ready in many instances with a remark appropriate to the personality of the individual who approached him, no matter how far that might seem to be removed from the ken of a Cardinal. He would speak to the men of recent incidents in their lives, perhaps of

[1] Smith and Fitzpatrick, *Cardinal Gibbons, Churchman and Citizen.*

a public or business nature, a wedding in a family, visits from relatives, trips out of town, and a variety of subjects which almost bewildered the crowd with amazement at the scope of his information. To the young women he would speak in a fatherly fashion, but without any appearance of patronizing them, noticing little changes in their appearance, recalling their parties and social ties, observing if they appeared in good health and spirits, always leaving the impression of kindness and personal interest as if he had singled out each person from the throng to speak to him or her individually. With the older guests he was inclined to talk of their children, the progress they were making at school, their growth and development, when he had seen them last, and, in general, circumstances of the kind that seemed to appeal to them and to him most.

Needless to say he was soon beloved and revered even by persons present who had not known him before, and what he said and did during the time he remained was the chief subject of interest and comment. No form of etiquette seemed too new for him to practise with ease and grace, unsurpassed by persons with whom social forms were one of the main concerns of life. He never remained after nine o'clock in the evening, and, if a dinner were the occasion of his visit, he ate but sparingly.

Usually his host was a Catholic, but he attended many social affairs at which those present were predominantly Protestants, without any change in his customary demeanor, or apparently in the affection with which he was greeted and the distinction which was accorded to him.

Naturally he could not accept more than a small fraction of the social invitations which were showered upon him. In every case his object seemed to be to go where he could do the most good, or, in some cases, where the urgency of the invitation was such that a refusal would leave keen disappointment.

A wealthy Baltimore physician, noted for the dinners that he gave, at which the viands served met the most exacting standards of Baltimore gastronomics (surely this is the ultimate in eulogy!) was exceedingly desirous of having the Cardinal dine with him. He repeatedly urged the prelate, who was his long-time friend and whom he regarded as one of the colossal figures of the world, to come to dinner at his house. In his kindly way the Cardinal put off accepting from time to time, until he discovered that it would give his friend pain if he failed to do so, and then he consented.

On the evening of the dinner a small but notable company of leading men and women of the city assembled at the house of the physician, who had put forth his utmost exertions to prepare a menu that could not be excelled. At the table, the Cardinal, as usual, was the life of the party, but his host observed with distress, as the courses proceeded, that he was not actually eating anything, although he toyed with his fork in the various dishes. Lynnhaven Bay oysters, Maryland terrapin and canvasback ducks were passed, the host hoping that the famous guest would be tempted to eat by each new triumph of the cuisine, but he did not do so. Mentally confessing the failure of his efforts, the host said:

"Your Eminence, perhaps you would like something else than what is being served. If you will tell me what you would care to eat, I can have it prepared for you."

The Cardinal paused in an interval of his brilliant conversation, which fascinated all and at the same time put them at their ease, and replied, with his radiant smile:

"If you have a nice fresh egg, I think I would enjoy it."

The host was almost ready to collapse for a moment, but he recovered his equanimity and ordered an egg, doubtless the freshest in the house, to be cooked according to the Cardinal's direction and brought to the table.

And that was the Cardinal's dinner.

Gibbons' whole life was sprinkled with incidents in which the social aspect played an important part. He was as far from considering little things beneath him as he was from considering large things too high for him. The smaller details of life did not crowd the larger subjects out of his mind. It seemed to be an inexhaustible repository, in which everything was arranged in order, to be produced instantly when occasion called for it.

In a sermon upon "Rewards of Faith" [2] he said: "The most commonplace (of our actions) are generally the most useful." He proceeded to speak in praise of "those ordinary courtesies of social life, those little acts of Christian politeness and charity which are scarcely noticed," and which he pronounced "often more serviceable than the most brilliant achievements."

[2] Delivered in the Baltimore Cathedral, November 1, 1914.

He seemed always able to say the right thing at the right time. In conferring collegiate degrees, of which he bestowed thousands, he was as inclined to remark to the recipient: "Your cap and gown are very becoming to you," as to say "I congratulate you upon the distinction which you receive."

Of his many personal friendships there were two which, according to his own testimony, were the closest of his life. Of the clergy, his strongest tie was with Monsignor McManus, pastor of St. John's Church, Baltimore, whose death on February 28, 1888, he thus recorded in his journal:

"Monsignor B. J. McManus, the dearest friend I had among the clergy, died this morning. *Deus tibi det pacem suam, amice cordis mei.*"

McManus was a particularly good example of the simple-hearted priest, a type which always attracted Gibbons powerfully, probably for the reason that he saw in it something of a reflection of himself. He singled out men of this type, no less among the prelates than the clergy, as the objects of his closest personal ties; and, in fact, it may be said that he even sought it out among the laity as far as its virtues could be attained by them. Monsignor McManus was a man of works rather than of words. Of deep spirituality, he also possessed the executive faculty in no small degree, and developed St. John's parish as one of the model communities of its kind in Baltimore, providing ample buildings and equipment for education and social activities, so that it became in a way a city within a city. The parishioners found in the Church and the many features of social work con-

nected with it means of innocent diversion, as well as devotion; and the parish life absorbed their interest and attention to as great an extent perhaps, as it is possible to attain in an American city.

No aspect of the welfare of his people was outside of McManus' keen scrutiny, or failed to receive his attention. The example of his own godly and devoted life was an inspiration to all who came in contact with him. He was a frequent visitor at the residence of Gibbons, whom he accompanied on many trips, the first of which appears to have been when Gibbons went from Baltimore to be installed as Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina. A picture of McManus was one of the few ornaments of the Cardinal's simple bedroom which he retained there up to the time of his death.

Of the laity, the closest friend of Gibbons was Michael Jenkins, a member of a Maryland Catholic family which has been identified with the State from early Colonial days. His father was Thomas C. Jenkins, who at the time of his death in 1881 was the oldest pew holder of the Cathedral and the oldest member of its board of trustees. The family, under the leadership of Michael Jenkins, built one of the most beautiful churches of Baltimore.[3] He was honored with several Papal decorations.

Many accorded him the place of the foremost business man of Baltimore. The trust company of which he was the head was one of the principal financial institutions of the city, and, in addition, he was one of the controlling owners of the stock of an extensive railroad system, and of one of the most successful coastwise steamship lines.

[3] Corpus Christi.

Tall, deep-chested, with a large head, he looked every inch the leader that he was. The business in which he was so successful was by no means his only occupation. He was deeply interested in letters and arts and gave freely of his time and money in the promotion of cultural influences. As treasurer of the Catholic University he helped to rescue it from its direst financial experience, and remained one of its firmest friends and supporters up to the time of his death.

Jenkins was ever ready to offer his large wealth for the cause of religion, but could never persuade the Cardinal to take anything for himself. He would have esteemed it a privilege to purchase for Gibbons any luxury or comfort and frequently pressed such offers without avail. Now and then the Cardinal would accept a gift for some necessary change in the archiepiscopal residence which would benefit all the other priests there equally, but never anything especially for him as an individual.

This long time friend of the Cardinal survived to the age of seventy-three years, and died in Baltimore in September, 1915. Gibbons said that the loss "completely crushed" him. He presided at the funeral in the Baltimore Cathedral and delivered the eulogy, in the course of which he made a vow that he would never ascend the altar without praying for the soul of Michael Jenkins. In this discourse he said that Jenkins regarded himself as "not the absolute owner, but the steward of the wealth which Providence had placed in his hands," and that "he felt the force of the axiom that our greatest earthly happiness is found in bringing happiness to others." The Cardinal added:

"The death of Mr. Jenkins is a personal loss to myself which cannot be fathomed. His departure has left a void in my heart which time cannot fill. It is only the vital and consoling influence of religion that can reconcile me to my bereavement. He was my constant friend and benefactor. He even anticipated my wishes in lightening my burden.

"O beloved and cherished friend, thou wast a prince among merchants. Thou wast an uncrowned emperor among God's noblemen. I loved thee as dearly as Ambrose loved Theodosius."

Another warm friendship of Gibbons was with Joseph Friedenwald, one of the most conspicuous members of the Jewish faith in Baltimore, a man of many charities, to whom benevolence seemed to be as important as the extensive business projects which brought him wealth. The Cardinal's acquaintance with Friedenwald began when the latter was president of the board of trustees of Bayview Asylum, an institution maintained by the municipality of Baltimore for the care of the indigent. Upon one occasion, while Friedenwald was presiding over a meeting of the board, a petition from some of the Catholic clergy for the establishment of a chapel in the institution for Catholic inmates was presented. Two members of the board were Catholics and they earnestly supported the petition, but it was opposed by every other member except Friedenwald. He held aloof from the discussion for some time, and then swung the whole board to the side of the Catholic members by a vigorous endorsement of the project of establishing the chapel.

Gibbons heard of this act and wrote a letter to Friedenwald expressing his warm thanks, which he supple-

mented later in a personal conversation. These two men of strong character, who agreed in many things outside of religious creed, learned to trust and admire each other, and their ties soon deepened into affection. Friedenwald became one of the privileged callers at the Cardinal's residence, where he found a cordial welcome and enjoyed delightful chats with his distinguished friend. While on a trip to Europe, he obtained a handsome cane of tortoise shell, in the gold handle of which were secreted quotations from the Scriptures in English and Hebrew, worked on vellum. Upon his return he presented this cane to the Cardinal, who prized it among the most cherished of the many personal gifts that were made to him.

When Friedenwald was stricken with a fatal illness in 1910, Gibbons visited him at his residence, where the meeting between these friends and their affectionate conversation produced a profound impression upon the Jewish family. After Friedenwald's death Gibbons said:

"I lose one of the best friends I had. Religious differences were forgotten in the friendship between us. He was upright, true and faithful, and one knew him but to love him."

Friedenwald bequeathed $2000 to the Cardinal in his will, much to the prelate's surprise.

Gibbons' trait of overwhelming determination was shown strikingly in the rigid manner in which he regulated the general outlines of his life. When he had reached old age he once said that he had never written anything which he regretted. It was his intense alertness of mind which enabled him to avoid the mistakes com-

mon to most men. Prudence characterized his conduct at all times, but it was far from the prudence of timidity. He could speak and act instantly with a discretion that seemed to be the product of long thought and meditation. Always he kept in mind the fact that an immature expression by a Catholic prelate in America would be likely to do great harm to the cause of religion. That he maintained his poise when he said so much, and upon so many different subjects, was extraordinary.

The atmosphere of religion, or rather of the fruits of religion in the individual, accompanied him everywhere. Sometimes the thought must have come to him with considerable force from the suggestions of others that his talents might have enabled him to attain even greater fame and power outside of ecclesiastical life. There was no evidence that this thought ever produced any regret on his part. Speaking on his seventy-sixth birthday of the reflections which the anniversary called up, he said:

"I am contented; happy. It is much to be given to any mortal to be able to say that. If it were given to me to live all of these seventy-six years again, I should not wish them different; I should be a priest. The calling of a priest is a difficult one, but there is sublime happiness in the dedication of one's self to service."

He saw no attraction, he said on the same occasion, in the work of a representative in civil government, a lawyer or a physician, equal to that of an "Ambassador of Christ." In the Church he felt that he could reach the great fundamental issues with which the welfare of humanity is bound up without the obscurity which so often clouds them in the mind of the time-server.

With all his winning graces of personality, Gibbons was one of the most formidable of men if any one attempted deliberately to obstruct one of his important purposes, to take improper advantage of him, or to cross him unnecessarily. In such instances his form, usually slightly bent, would straighten, his mobile face would assume a fixed expression of irresistible determination, and his eye would seem like a flaming torch. This mood was rare with him, but it was in evidence upon not a few occasions in the total of his long life.

It was sometimes called forth by persons who went to him for purposes of intrigue, attempting to make use of the great power of his office or his personal power for their own ends. Some of these persons wished to obtain the Church's sanction in some form for divorce proceedings. Others wished him to use improperly his influence over other churchmen or over public officials. Still others used pressure to induce him to commit ill judged acts.

Like all men as conspicuous as he, he was naturally beset by no small number of persons of the crank type in one form or another, who possessed sufficient shrewdness to obtain access to him, or even obtained letters of introduction from good sources. Many men tried hard to sway him in behalf of, or in opposition to, some organization which wished to derive benefit from the favor of the Church. His mood of resolute resistance to dangerous opposition was in clear evidence in the great fights which he waged. There was no more leonine opponent than Gibbons when aroused. Those who thought to cajole or trifle with him soon learned this to their cost.

CHAPTER LI

RELATIONS WITH PROTESTANTS

Gibbons' relations with Protestants were marked by complete consistency. He was never known to speak uncharitably of them or to them, and addressed them all as "brethren." Protestant ministers as well as laymen being among his warmest personal friends, he showed no hesitation whatever in cooperating with them in good works. He was obviously willing to go to extraordinary lengths to avoid countenancing any unkind word about those who differed from him in creed.

On one occasion when a group of Protestant clergymen who held periodical meetings in Baltimore had engaged in a discussion which bore rather severely upon the Catholic Church, a friend who talked with him on the subject expressed condemnation of this in strong terms which seemed to call for some response by Gibbons. The Cardinal struggled within himself between the desire not to pain his friend by complete silence on the subject, and a counterbalancing desire to say nothing which might appear to be uncharitable to Protestants. As the friend proceeded with his denunciation, it seemed almost too much to expect of human nature for the Cardinal not to make some kind of a response. At length he said, with the utmost forgiveness apparent in his manner as well as his voice: "Well, you know these ministers have to find topics to discuss at their meetings." This was the

nearest approach, according to one intimately acquainted with him, which he was ever known to make toward unfriendly comment upon Protestants.

His general attitude in reference to the subject was illustrated in a Christmas greeting which he was asked to prepare in 1911. The greeting read:

"To all Christian brethren, a Merry Christmas. With the New Year may there dawn a reign of peace among the nations of the world.

"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS."

His stand in this respect was all the more conspicuous, because he was the modern "Defender of the Faith," his book, *The Faith of Our Fathers*, having earned that title for him preeminently.

He never sought precedence in assemblages where Protestant Bishops were present, but he himself bore testimony to the fact that he never failed to receive it on such occasions. One of the many instances when this question was directly presented to him was at the dedication of a site for an industrial exposition which it was proposed to hold in Baltimore. Bishop Paret, of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Maryland, a stanch upholder of his own faith, who was sometimes disposed to be punctilious in asserting its prerogatives, was standing near the Cardinal when the procession for the dedication exercises was about to form. Perhaps embarrassed for a moment, he turned to the Cardinal and said:

"Your Eminence, I do not know what is the custom in your church, but in my church the inferior precedes the superior."

With his beaming smile the Cardinal replied: "My

dear brother, we will walk together," and he took Bishop Paret's arm as the procession moved.

It will be observed that the Bishop addressed him as "your Eminence," which complied with ecclesiastical etiquette. The Cardinal, not wishing to address the Bishop by an inferior title, or by any shading of words to indicate that the question of precedence was involved, called him "my dear brother."

One evening while the Cardinal was chatting with a friend in the quietude of his study, the subject of the relative precedence of civil and ecclesiastical authorities on public occasions, then recently brought to public attention by an incident in which he was not a participant, came up. The Cardinal sprang up from his chair, remarking: "I will show you my rule in such matters."

Walking to a bookshelf he took out a copy of the Bible and read the following from the fourteenth chapter of St. Luke:

"And it came to pass, when Jesus went into the house of one of the chief of the Pharisees on the Sabbath day to eat bread that they watched him.

"And he spoke a parable also to them that were invited, marking how they chose the first seats at the table, saying to them:

"When thou art invited to a wedding, sit not down in the first place; lest perhaps one more honorable than thou be invited by him;

"And he that invited thee and him come and say to thee: Give this man place. And then thou begin with shame to take the lowest place.

"But when thou art invited, go and sit down in the lowest place; that when he that invited thee cometh,

he may say to thee: Friend, go up higher. Then shalt thou have glory before them that sit at table with thee.

"Because every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

His liberality of view in regard to Protestants was strikingly shown in January, 1906, when the Baltimore committee of the Prohibition Party arranged a meeting in honor of W. H. Berry, then State Treasurer of Pennsylvania, who had recently been elected triumphantly after a struggle against political corruption in that State. The Cardinal promptly accepted an invitation to serve as a vice-president of the meeting, being desirous of giving public recognition to Berry's fight against civic abuses, although he was not in sympathy with national prohibition. The committee had intended to hold the meeting in a public hall, but later changed the place to Eutaw Street Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the historic buildings of Methodism in America, identified with memories of Francis Asbury. When it was decided to make this change, the committee, fearing an embarrassing incident, sent a letter to the Cardinal giving notice of it, and asking if, under the circumstances, he wished to have his name withdrawn from the list of officers.

"The holding of a civic meeting in a Protestant church," he replied, "does not excite any religious scruples in me. I gladly allow the use of my name as one of the vice-presidents of the meeting."

When the Cardinal appeared in the church, he was vigorously applauded. He expressed to Berry his warm commendation of the battle against political evils in Pennsylvania.

Another illustration of the position which the Cardinal occupied in the hearts of his Protestant neighbors was given at a mass meeting in Brown Memorial Church, Baltimore, December 14, 1906, called to express disapproval of the policy of Leopold, the Belgian King, in the Congo State. One of the speakers at the meeting was the Rev. H. Grattan Guinness, a leader in the Congo agitation in Great Britain, who had come to the United States for the purpose of endeavoring to induce the Washington government to join England in intervention in the Congo. As a rule, Catholics defended the policy of King Leopold, reflecting the views of the large number of missionaries of their faith who were actively laboring among the natives. Gibbons on several occasions had expressed the same opinions, but he was not active in the controversy, and at no time interfered in it. His general position on the subject was shown in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Edward Everett Hale in October, 1904, expressing his regret at inability to attend a peace conference in Boston:

"Had I been able to be present, I would have made it my duty to say a word in vindication of the policy of Belgium in the Congo State. The representatives of the different powers at the Berlin Conference were compelled to express their admiration and praise of the noble ideals of the founder of the Congo State and the splendid results achieved through his humane policy."

Guinness, after describing to the meeting in Baltimore conditions in the Congo from his point of view, said at the close of his address:

"The United States and Britain, long ere this, would have got together and put an end to the atrocities in the Congo, but for one man in this country. The one strong hand that has been keeping this thing going is none other than that of Cardinal Gibbons."

In some localities such a statement might have passed unnoticed; but in the Baltimore Church there was a commotion in an instant. Two of the most prominent Protestant pastors in the city rose to defend the Cardinal. They were the Rev. John T. Stone, a Presbyterian, pastor of the church in which the meeting was held, and the Rev. Wilbur F. Sheridan, pastor of Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the leading congregations of that denomination in the city. Stone remarked earnestly that he greatly deplored the words of the speaker in reference to Cardinal Gibbons. Sheridan said:

"Pardon me, I entertain a profound regard for Cardinal Gibbons, whom I admire for his catholicity of view. I cannot think that such can be the case."

Guinness seemed dumfounded, but there was abundant evidence that the two Protestant ministers were expressing the emphatic view of virtually all who were present. At the request of Stone, the English speaker modified his statement almost immediately from the platform, and left the church with a new view of the regard in which Cardinal Gibbons was held in his home city.

Upon the occasion of Gibbons' forty-ninth anniversary in the priesthood, some tributes to him from Protestant pastors were printed in a Baltimore newspaper.[1] One

[1] The *Sun*.

of these was from the Rev. Dr. J. F. Heisse, formerly a presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at that time one of the city pastors, who said:

"As a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I join with my brethren of the various religious denominations in congratulating Cardinal Gibbons. . . . He has stood as a towering bulwark for civic and moral righteousness in our midst. . . . Many years of happiness to this distinguished prelate of the Roman Catholic Church!"

The tribute of the Rev. Dr. H. W. Schneeberger, rabbi of one of the principal Jewish temples of the city, was:

"Regardless of faith, men should recognize godliness wherever found. Cardinal Gibbons' life has been a constant expression of good. He is a living example of unselfishness. . . . Long life to the grand old man who 'with malice toward none and charity for all' has labored so long and faithfully for the uplift of humanity."

People of all creeds instinctively turned to the Cardinal to do favors for them, relying upon his kindness of heart. Among such were two Jewish residents of New York City, who decided to make a tour abroad. One of the plans which they formed was to obtain an audience with Pope Pius X, but they were at a loss as to how this could be arranged. At length the thought of soliciting Cardinal Gibbons' powerful aid came to them; but they realized that they had no claim upon the Cardinal's favor.

It occurred to them that they might obtain some assistance from a friend, Jacob Epstein, a Jewish merchant

who had risen from small beginnings in Baltimore to the proprietorship of one of the largest wholesale establishments in that city. They applied to him.

Epstein consulted one of the Cardinal's friends who he thought might have some influence, asking if anything could be done in the case. The friend, esteeming Epstein highly, and happening to know that the Cardinal also esteemed him for his numerous works of benevolence, agreed to undertake the mission. He obtained from Epstein the names of the two persons who wished to be received by the Pope, and proceeded to the Cardinal's residence, where he conveyed the request. Gibbons answered without a moment's hesitation:

"I shall be happy to do what Mr. Epstein wishes, but the request for the audience must come from the Archbishop of New York, as the persons who desire it reside in that diocese. I shall write at once a letter to the Archbishop, earnestly requesting that the favor be granted, and I have no doubt that he will comply."

Calling his secretary, he dictated a letter in which he conveyed the request to the Archbishop with all the emphasis which he might have summoned in behalf of one of his closest personal friends. It was soon prepared for delivery to Epstein. Before the visitor departed, Gibbons remarked:

"There is something else which I shall be glad if you will take to Mr. Epstein."

Entering his bedroom, he soon emerged with a handsome bronze medal, one of a comparatively small number designed by a sculptor of note in honor of his then recent

golden jubilee as priest and his silver jubilee as Cardinal. He remarked:

"Please present this to your friend with my compliments. I am glad to be able to send it to him. Tell him also that I have been happy to comply with his request."

The Cardinal, knowing that Epstein was a lover of art, was well aware that the medal would be valued by its recipient for the excellence of the sculptor's work as well as for other considerations. The merchant treasured it for this reason, but still more for the kindness of heart and broad charity, knowing no religious barriers, which its presentation represented to him.

Gibbons' fixed rule in doing good was to make no distinction between those who thought as he did and those who thought differently. The greater the need, the greater the service which he sought to bestow. This latter appeared to be the only general distinction which he was inclined to make.

CHAPTER LII

HEALTH AND RECREATIONS

To a friend who inquired solicitously as to his health, Gibbons once said: "I am always at the work bench, and am too busy to be sick." His meaning was that he was so preoccupied that he desisted from his labors only under the pressure of prostrating illness, which, in his case, was rare. He suffered from almost innumerable attacks of slight sickness, to which his intense concentration upon his tasks prevented him from yielding.

The general functions of his body were often so sluggish that he worked for days and even weeks at a time against a serious handicap of impaired vigor. One of the illnesses from which he suffered rather frequently he used to call "a cold on the stomach." The phrase, as a description of a physical condition, had been in general use in his youth. It meant that he had caught cold and in the general physical decline which accompanies a cold the stomach, as the weakest organ, suffered most. His digestion was a barometer of his general health.

Believing that the American people dose themselves with too many drugs, he often counteracted slight illness by doing what he called "starving himself" instead of resorting to medicine. On these occasions he would abstain resolutely from food for considerable periods, or take barely enough to prevent collapse. Meanwhile he

continued his almost incessant work. He would become extraordinarily pale, but showed no other sign of physical exhaustion, and his mental activity was wholly unaffected.

With him, body and mind seemed to be divorced. His intellect was always robust and intensely active and appeared to be ready for the greatest tasks when his body was scarcely strong enough to undergo even small exertion.

Almost all of his slight illnesses were traced directly to overwork, and as he possessed marvelous recuperative power they soon passed. Even a period of rest as scant as five minutes would refresh him to a marked degree after the performance of a long and fatiguing duty.

His physician watched the distinguished patient carefully, but Gibbons often failed to summon him when most men would have been disposed to do so. This was apparently for the reason that he wished to shun all thought of invalidism, and thus to avoid forming the habit of considering himself sick. Anxious thoughts of himself and of his own comfort and convenience had virtually no part in his outlook. It was evident that he formed a resolution rather early in life to do with the utmost diligence the work which fell to him, heeding not the consequences to himself, and that he was perfectly willing to pass from this world when the summons came. He preferred that when it did come it should find him at the post of duty.

Exercise in the open air gave him strong muscles, even in old age. On a visit to New York when he was well past eighty several automobiles containing Church digni-

taries awaited him at the railroad station, but he turned from their easy allurements and proposed a walk to the archiepiscopal residence, a mile and a half distant. Soon he was swinging up Fifth Avenue at a fast pace with a clerical companion, chatting vivaciously as he passed through the hurrying throng.

There was something masterful in him that gave the appearance of physical as well as intellectual strength to not a few persons who came in contact with him for the first time. This deceptive impression was due to the exceptional robustness of his mind and the vigor and keenness denoted by his countenance, which distracted attention from the comparative frailness of the body. His motions were rapid and graceful, but there was in them no trace of nervousness or hurry. His nerves, like his mind, appeared to possess a giant's strength.

In conversation when he was seventy-nine years old he spoke thus of his health and endurance after returning from a trip to Knoxville, Tennessee, in the course of which the strain that he underwent was excessive:

"My only pastorate, that at Canton, nearly broke me down. I was forced to officiate in two churches, several miles apart, on Sunday mornings, and as I celebrated a late Mass, I fasted every Sunday until one o'clock or later. When I was through with the last service, I could not eat, and sometimes felt as if I were ready to collapse. Down in North Carolina and Virginia, I habitually overworked and overworried, going night and day.

"After I succeeded to the See of Baltimore, I had some of the worst strains of all. The greatest was the Third Plenary Council, from the labor and responsibility of which I did not have a day's respite from the autumn of

1883 to December, 1884. My hands trembled so greatly when I opened the Council that some of the prelates said I could not last through it. But [this with a smile] I did last through it and have outlasted every one of them."

The visitor to whom he was speaking asked, "Were you equal to the demands upon you in Knoxville?"

"It was a long trip down there—eighteen hours—but on Friday night, after my arrival, I had a good sleep and that put me in better condition," the Cardinal replied. "On Saturday there were so many things to do that I became nervous and when I retired Saturday night, sleep could not be coaxed. I had begun to take cold, my limbs were seized with a cramp and I shivered all over. After enduring this for some time, a profuse perspiration broke out. I scarcely had two hours' sleep that night, and as I had to preach twice the next day, I came near vowing that I would never be caught that way again. But the morning was bright and that helped to pick me up. I managed to get through everything that was assigned to me and that night I slept nine hours. On Monday I was ready for anything."

The visitor inquired, "How does your ability to undergo physical fatigue now compare with your capacity in middle life?"

"It is fully as great," the Cardinal said, "except that I must be careful not to load myself with the necessity of too much sustained effort. I do not know to what my endurance should be attributed, unless it be to care of myself and to moderation. Today I was reading of Mr. Spence [a Baltimore financier who had just passed his ninety-eighth birthday] and those things seem to be his reliance, also. I observed that he smokes four cigars a

day, which is about my own allowance. No doubt I must have had a good deal of vitality even when I thought myself weakest.

"There is a record of longevity in my family on my mother's side, although my father died comparatively young. My oldest sister is still living and my mother's father lived to a great age. Perhaps heredity accounts in some degree for the marvelous way in which I have been preserved.

"Worry is what kills. My direct observation throughout my life is that this is the cause of most of the physical breakdowns. I have learned not to burden myself with undue solicitude for the morrow."

Gibbons' eyesight was remarkable. Even in age he was able to read the finest type without the aid of glasses, although when reading at night by artificial light he often used spectacles.

His favorite refuge when he needed a period of rest and recreation was at the homes of the Shriver family at Union Mills, seven miles from Westminster, one of the large towns of Maryland. There were two of these homes, that of T. Herbert Shriver, which the Cardinal used to call "The Lower House or the House of Commons"; and that of B. Frank Shriver, a brother of the former, which he called "The Upper House or the House of Lords." They are situated in a region of rare rural beauty. The pious family life of the Shrivers was an inspiration to Gibbons, and the attention which they bestowed upon him made him always at ease when he was their guest. Of simple and unostentatious habits himself, and possessing a pronounced social instinct, he always felt at home in such a circle.

CARDINAL GIBBONS READY FOR A WALK

He is shown seated with Bishop O'Connell, of Richmond, on the porch of the residence of B. Frank Shriver at Union Mills, Md. The photograph was taken in 1918.

He had known the Shrivers since early days. Herbert Shriver had attended St. Charles College in preparation for the priesthood, but a serious physical injury compelled him to abandon that career. In 1868, the year in which Gibbons was made a Bishop, he celebrated the first Mass ever said in the family chapel at Union Mills. Herbert Shriver survived for many years and at his death Miss Mary O. Shriver presided over the home.

When Gibbons was visiting at Union Mills he said Mass at seven o'clock every morning in the chapel. He wrote much, remaining in his room during a considerable part of the day, but took long walks and always his after dinner nap, besides pitching quoits occasionally. He excelled in this latter sport, being considered one of the best players in Maryland.

In the evening, after supper, the Cardinal joined the family group and chatted in high spirits, almost as of youth. In the personal affairs of the members of the household, including their progress in business life, he took a deep interest and he was their favorite friend and adviser. Often he entertained the group with some of the anecdotes of which he seemed to possess a never failing supply.

For a number of years one of his favorite resorts for a brief rest in summer was Southampton, Long Island, where he was the guest of clerical friends. His presence at that seaside town usually attracted a number of visitors from New York, who attended Mass in the local church when he was present. Near-by are pleasant walks and drives, and the Cardinal found the air peculiarly conducive to rest and sleep.

Still another refuge where he found rest and happiness in later years was the home of Martin Maloney at Spring Lake, New Jersey, where he received solicitous attention and often found relief from the heat in the middle of summer. Mr. Maloney was a Papal marquis, having received that honor on account of his many philanthropies.

The Cardinal was accustomed to spend a part of every Lent in New Orleans with the surviving members of his family. When the centenary anniversary of the See of New Orleans, the second in the United States, was observed in 1893, he took a prominent part in the services.

Often duty required him to remain in Baltimore in midsummer. He found temporary relief during a portion of the day by sitting upon a little back porch attached to his residence, where there was usually a breeze, and where his gaze looked out over his beloved Cathedral. He would chat there in the afternoons with callers, clerical or lay, and the words of wisdom and helpfulness which fell from his lips on these occasions were treasured by many.

The extent to which he continued his activity despite advancing years may be gathered from a summary of his labors in 1912, when he was seventy-eight years old. During that year he confirmed 7236 persons. This alone was a task of magnitude for a young man. Before or after confirmation ceremonies, he always preached and at the close held a reception for the parishioners. The largest class which he confirmed in that year consisted of 636 persons. He went through the long ceremony of raising thirty-three young men to the priesthood, performed marriages, baptized a number of persons and heard

confessions many times in the Cathedral, like any priest of his household. In addition, he was present at a number of funerals. He conferred the pallium upon Archbishop Prendergast, of Philadelphia, made the long trip to Wichita, Kansas, to dedicate a Cathedral, and shared in all other important ceremonial events of general interest to the Church in the United States. During the year he did not fail to continue to take part, as usual, in public activities, the most notable of which was the offering of the opening prayer at the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore.

Late in Gibbons' life some of the younger priests of the Baltimore diocese wished a coadjutor Archbishop to be appointed, but his resolute action prevented the plan from being carried into effect, although he consented to accept the services of an auxiliary Bishop. He felt fully equal —indeed there could be no doubt that he was equal—to the task that he carried on so long and with such signal success that the number of churches in the diocese was tripled during his incumbency. Like many who possess in a marked degree the traits of a commander, he was not disposed to share his authority.

His life was seriously imperiled by a driving accident in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore, July 30, 1891. When he was elevated to the cardinalate, the clergy of the diocese presented to him a two-seated brougham, which he kept at the public stable of James Martin, near his residence, as he could not be persuaded to maintain a private livery. If occasion required a drive, he used horses hired from Martin; and in summer he sometimes enjoyed the air of the park with Martin on the box of his carriage.

On this occasion Martin was driving homeward when the pole of the brougham broke and the horses began a mad flight. The driver's utmost efforts were not sufficient to check them, but he was able to keep them in the road. After they had dashed ahead fully three quarters of a mile, they approached a large stone gateway, which then stood at the Mount Royal entrance of the park, and Martin guided them against it, stopping their flight and severely injuring them by the impact. Gibbons, who had remained calm, though he fully realized his danger, alighted unhurt and was taken to his residence in another carriage which passed.

He was keenly conscious that the driver's courage, coolness and skill had saved his life, and, as a mark of gratitude, presented to Martin one of two large gold medals which he had received from Leo XIII, bearing on one side a bas-relief portrait of the Pontiff and on the other an interior view of the basilica of St. Peter's in Rome. He had these words engraved upon the medal in addition to the previous inscription:

"Presented to James Martin, Jr., by his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, August 1, 1891, as a recognition of his courage and self-possession displayed July 30, 1891."

For many years Martin continued to drive him, and he always felt safe in the hands of that devoted and intrepid man.

Although accustomed to making long journeys by railroad and steamship for many years, he was never injured by accident on land or sea. While returning from New Orleans November 16, 1899, after performing the cere-

mony of the marriage of his niece, Katherine, a daughter of his brother, John T. Gibbons, he had a narrow escape at Pleasure Ridge Park, near Louisville, Kentucky. His train was in a collision in which five persons were severely hurt. Gibbons was at breakfast when the table was thrown to one side, the dishes were scattered and all of those in the car were severely shaken. He was able to retain his seat, but persons who were near him were hurled from their chairs by the impact.

CHAPTER LIII

ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS

Anecdotes flowed from Gibbons in a double sense. He was one of the best of story-tellers, and he was the subject of far more stories than he told. Wherever he went he gave rise to anecdotes of himself which threw real light upon his character. So exceptionally large was the number of them that a relation of some of those which have been verified will throw useful—perhaps even necessary—light upon his personality.

That these anecdotes were so voluminous and varied was due to the force of his individuality and to the versatility of his reach. Most of them were circulated by members of his household or by prelates, clergy and laymen from outside who came in close contact with him in Baltimore. But wherever he went—Rome, Washington, New York, Chicago, New Orleans and elsewhere—they seemed to spring up abundantly.

His life was full of the picturesque and unusual at all times. The ordinary ways of men were not his ways. His marked personality was evident even to a cursory observer.[1]

[1] The sources of the stories of Cardinal Gibbons as given here are conversations with him, personal observations by the author, accounts by some of the Cardinal's closest friends, and the book *Cardinal Gibbons, Churchman and Citizen,* by Smith and Fitzpatrick. All of these stories have been fully confirmed, except in some cases as to the dialogue, which is naturally the version of the person who related the anecdote. In

A large proportion of the stories that were told of him concerned children, whose artless natures he fathomed with rare comprehension and in whose company he always took especial delight. His playfulness with altar boys outside of church was a commonplace fact to his entourage, but persons who saw instances of it for the first time were much impressed. Two of these boys were sent to his study to accompany him to the Cathedral a few minutes before each service there in which he took part. Any one unaware of what almost invariably followed their arrival would have been puzzled to see them approaching the private room of the distinguished churchman beaming with smiles of anticipation. The reason was soon apparent. When he opened the door in response to their gentle knock, he would assume a half-quizzical expression of playful surprise and would greet them with some such remark as this:

"Gentlemen, to what am I indebted for the honor of this visit? Dee-lighted, as Mr. Roosevelt would say."

Knowing the fondness of children for innocent plays of make-believe, Gibbons would keep up his raillery for some minutes. There was usually a little time to wait before starting for the Cathedral, and he would sink into one of the big chairs in his room, perhaps beside his bay window, and amuse the boys and himself in the interval by propounding conundrums and finally giving the answers. The lads, in high glee, showed no trace of embarrassment, but talked to and laughed with Gibbons

every case, however, the dialogue represents the Cardinal's customary manner of speaking. A number of anecdotes of him have been given on previous pages of this work where they seemed apropos of some particular subject.

as if he had been a benevolent relative, familiar to their sight, who knew how to interest and please them.

After the service, it was the duty of the boys to accompany him back to his residence. As they reached the foot of the stairs leading to his study he would often put his arms around their necks and trip rapidly upward with them. Occasionally, if the boys were small, he would lift one of them under each arm and carry them bodily up the steps. At the top he would place them on their feet again and go with them to his study, where there was a further happy interchange of dialogue adapted to boyish fancy. Before they left, he always gave each of them a little present, usually a book or a box of candy.

He was often in a merry mood also with his "door boys," the young ushers who received the cards of visitors and took them to him or to other members of his household. A friend who was accustomed to call upon him frequently in the evenings usually telephoned to the archiepiscopal residence in advance to learn if the Cardinal would be at home. Sometimes it was the door boy who answered the telephone, and on one occasion of that kind the Cardinal's friend found that a new boy had been installed. The lad carried the message as usual to Gibbons' room, and returned with the reply that he would be at home. Upon arriving at the archiepiscopal residence that evening, the front door was opened for the Cardinal's friend by the new usher, to whom he said:

"Did you tell his Eminence that I would call?"

"Yes," was the reply.

"What did he say?" was the next inquiry.

"Oh," the door boy responded, "he said, 'Well, have you any objection?' I told him 'No'; and he said it would be all right."

Most of the door boys remained at the Cardinal's residence several years each. As they became older, he obtained, where it was helpful to do so, positions in which they could advance themselves in some useful line of work. Not infrequently he gave them gratuities which he called "spending change."

His interest in children was also shown by his solicitude for Catholic institutions conducted for their welfare in the diocese of Baltimore, and even for the individuals who were cared for in those institutions. One day in June, 1911, he attended a meeting of those interested in St. James' Home for Boys. While there, among the waifs of the city, he was reminded that at almost the same time on the preceding day he had dined with President Taft at the White House. In the course of his visit to the boys he made a speech to them, telling them that Lincoln had chopped wood and Garfield had driven a mule on a canal path. "The moral of this," he said, "is that boys, no matter what their condition in youth, can attain high stations in life."

He was accustomed to visit St. James' Home several times a year to talk with the boys, among whom his personal influence amounted to much. They loved and revered him, considering him a stanch friend and a pattern of manliness and courtesy, as well as a model American, for he liked to inculcate patriotism in the young. In addition to this, he received reports of progress at the

Home. When Brother Leo, the director of the institution, called upon him at his residence at one time to present a report of that kind Gibbons asked:

"How many boys are there at the home?"

"Sixty-seven," the director answered.

"How many are at work?" was the next question.

The director replied with satisfaction: "All are at work, and employment could be found for twenty-five more."

Gibbons' exclamation "Thanks be to God!" could not have been more fervent if some great event had been the cause of it.

His zeal was also exceptional for the welfare of the lads at St. Mary's Industrial School in his home city. The discipline of the school was naturally an important consideration, and, as at St. James' Home, his direct influence was an important part of it.

An incident which illustrated this occurred in May, 1908. A little before that time some incorrigible boys who were in custody at a State reformatory in Maryland had escaped from the institution, and it was charged that when they were recaptured they were cruelly beaten with a leather strap. The Baltimore newspapers contained long accounts of the charges and of the subsequent official investigation. This was not lost upon the Cardinal, who was intensely alert as to everything going on around him.

A short time afterward two boys at St. Mary's Industrial School caught the fever of trying to escape. They overpowered a watchman in their dormitory by means of a surprise attack, seized the keys from him when he was helpless, and made a dash to open the way not only for

themselves, but for the others in the dormitory to break out. The other boys, however, gave a convincing demonstration of their loyalty to the institution which was caring for them by pouncing upon the two would-be leaders, taking the keys from them and giving them a beating.

The next day the newspapers printed full accounts of this affair, which was supposed to have especial interest for the public mind because of the current stories charging cruelty at the institution of the same kind maintained by the State. Gibbons read these accounts with deep anxiety. He learned that the offenders had been placed in temporary confinement, and that the final action to be taken in their cases was as yet undecided by Brother Paul, his close friend, the director of the Industrial School.

Several days later the Cardinal visited the school, and confirmed two hundred boys. The attempt to escape weighed upon his mind, and he sent for the two offenders. They were brought into his presence expecting to receive an austere reproof which would add to their humiliation and cause their punishment to be more galling. But the simple, kindly man, whose red cap showed his rank, did the unexpected—to the boys. It happened that they were Protestants, for though St. Mary's is chiefly for Catholic boys, some non-Catholics were committed there by Maryland magistrates when they could not be cared for elsewhere.

Abashed at first, they listened with wonder as the Cardinal began to speak to them in sympathetic, fatherly tones. This was the substance of what he said:

"Boys, you are very young yet, and do not know as much about your duty to others as older persons are expected to know. Perhaps without realizing it, you have done a great wrong to that poor watchman. He was here to protect you at night, not to harm you in any way. If a fire had broken out, he would have given the alarm in order that your lives might have been saved. He guarded you while you slept, that no harm of any kind might come to you.

"The school does not keep you here because it wants to restrain you, but because you have been adjudged incorrigible by a court of law, and the school, instead of punishing you, is giving you a chance to learn to be good and useful men. You need more than anything else, just now, the friendly aid you are receiving here from these good Brothers. I am sure you did not know what you were doing when you harmed your own protector."

By this time not a trace of the bravado which the boys had formerly shown remained. They were weeping and thoroughly penitent. The colloquy continued along these lines:

The Cardinal—Brother Paul, I think these boys are sorry for what they have done and will never do it again. I will undertake to say that they will be good boys in future. Will you let them off from punishment for me?

Brother Paul (overwhelmed)—Yes, your Eminence.

The Cardinal—I am very glad of that. And now, Brother Paul, as the boys of the school have all been through a strain, caused by the trouble that is now happily over, will you give them a holiday?

Brother Paul—I will, your Eminence.

In addition to the holiday, the Cardinal directed that the boys be regaled with ice cream at his expense. Need-

less to say, no charges of cruelty developed out of the escape at that school. Both of the boys became useful and respected men.

Gibbons paid occasional visits to the Juvenile Court of Baltimore and sat with the judge on the bench. In the case of a particularly good judge who was deeply interested in children and was both merciful and helpful to them, he urged the Governor of Maryland to reappoint him, and this was done.

Some parents, knowing his interest in boys, called upon him to solicit his direct help so that the publicity of court action in committing their children to institutions might be avoided. In cases where it seemed proper to do so, he was always disposed to give them cards or notes to reformatories, which were sufficient to obtain entrance for the boys and proper oversight of them.

At the Christmas season of 1912, he was the Santa Claus for one hundred children at St. Mary's Asylum, Baltimore, presenting to each of them a toy and a box of candy and fruit. The children there were only a little advanced beyond infancy, but they were old enough to give a simple entertainment under the direction of the Sisters in charge, and the Cardinal watched it throughout, seeming to take delight in it. When the Sisters announced that he was "to be the Santa Claus," he went upon a stage which had been erected and his face beamed as he made a happy address, adapted to childish minds, expressing his satisfaction with the excellent care which the little ones were receiving.

A man once called upon Gibbons accompanied by some children who wished to present to him specimens

of their handiwork, in which they took especial satisfaction. It pleased them to think that they could give these things, simple as they were, to the Cardinal. The man who was with them made a short speech of presentation in which, from the best motives, he spoke disparagingly of the value of the gifts, but urged the Cardinal to receive them because they had been made by little folk who loved him.

Apparently the children had not realized before that the gifts which they brought had no especial value, and the sudden revelation of this to them from the words of the speaker almost brought tears to their eyes. Gibbons' quick observation took in this. When the address of presentation had been concluded he picked up the gifts one by one, examined them with an appearance of admiration and exclaimed over and over:

"Aren't they wonderful!"

Every trace of weeping faded from the faces of the children, and their delight knew no bounds when he made a graceful speech of thanks to them.

After Gibbons attended the funeral of Bishop Van de Vyver, of Richmond, there was time for him to take a walk. He decided to visit the institution of the Little Sisters of the Poor in that city, in which he was interested, but he did not know the way there. Meeting a boy near the church, he asked to be directed. The lad accompanied him to the institution, and they had a cordial chat as they threaded their way through the streets, the lad thus receiving a share of attention with which men prominent in any station of life would have been honored.

Gibbons was always glad to hear the confessions of

children. The daughter of a Baltimore banker brought her little daughter, seven years old, to the archiepiscopal residence on one occasion for her first confession. One of the priests attempted to receive the confession, but the child was timid and agitated and could not be induced to go through with it. At that stage the Cardinal appeared and inquired what was the matter. Learning the situation, he spoke kindly to the child, soothed her completely, and heard the confession himself.

When the Convent of the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore was much damaged by a fire [2] from which 160 negro children who were in their care were rescued, Gibbons hastened to the scene and consoled both the Sisters and their little charges. Going from one nun to another, he spoke words of encouragement, and promised to help in obtaining funds for the rebuilding. The children had seen the Cardinal on several occasions and they crowded around him, receiving expressions of his sympathy and his joy at the fact that all had escaped in safety. His presence restored calmness and courage to them.

A husband and wife, the latter carrying a baby, applied at his residence one afternoon for the privilege of making confession to a priest. The usher at the door informed them that the priests were resting, but that one of them would be downstairs in a short time. The husband persisted, saying that he lived in the suburbs of Baltimore, must return home before it grew late and could not delay. The usher went to the private apartments in the house to learn if the services of any of the

[2] 1912.

priests could be obtained. He soon returned saying that the Cardinal had volunteered and would hear the confessions. This plunged the couple in a panic.

"I will not go to the Cardinal," said the husband.

"Neither will I," said the wife; "why did you get him?"

"The priests are all resting, and he offered to come down," answered the usher.

Before the couple could withdraw, the Cardinal appeared. They were so overcome that their embarrassment was painful. The Cardinal simply bowed his head and neither by word nor act added to the confusion of the penitents. At first they forgot what to say, but at length contrived to make their confessions and left. Before departing, the wife said to one who was near-by:

"I am so glad that I went for confession to the Cardinal. It is a great honor, and he was so kind and gentle; besides, I feel so comforted after the instruction and advice he gave me. He made me see so clearly, and is one of the best confessors I ever met. I just thought that I could not go to him, but now I would not take anything for the recollection of this day."

Gibbons was always pained when in the course of his many journeyings he found persons who were embarrassed—and they were by no means few—by awe of him on account of his office. A story was told of one of his episcopal trips, in the course of which he took breakfast at the home of one of the principal residents, who may be called Mr. Jones. Neither the host nor the hostess appeared at the table, and when he inquired where they were the butler reluctantly replied that they were too

diffident to eat in the presence of the Cardinal. The eminent guest sent his companion, who may be designated as Mr. Brown, to make inquiries.

"What," exclaimed the host, "take breakfast with the Cardinal? No, sir! I wouldn't know what to do nor what to say. I couldn't eat a mouthful. I wouldn't know whether I was standing on my head or my heels. No, sir!"

The host was told that the Cardinal was one of the gentlest and most unassuming of men; that he had been complimenting the cooking, and that it was rude to refuse to eat with him. The only answer was, "No, sir!"

"You don't mind me," said Mr. Brown; "why would you be embarrassed by the Cardinal?"

"Well, Mr. Brown," he replied, "you're only an editor, and I'm used to editors; but there's only one Cardinal in this country, and I wouldn't know how to act in his company. No, sir!"

"Well, perhaps Mrs. Jones might like to——"

"No, sir, Mrs. Jones wouldn't. She's just as upset as I am."

"What shall I tell his Eminence?"

"Make my excuses; tell him I feel honored at having him as my guest; beg him to make himself at home, and thank him for inviting me to sit at the table with him; but tell him I couldn't do it. No, sir!"

When Mr. Brown related what had happened, the Cardinal was distressed at his host's unnecessary agitation, but made the best of the situation.

After breakfast, a church was dedicated, and the Cardinal held an informal reception. The local pastor took

him back to dinner at Mr. Jones'. The meal was on the table, smoking hot, but neither host nor hostess appeared.

After the butler had served dinner, Mr. Brown remembered that the Cardinal was in the habit of taking a nap at that time of day, and went to hunt Mr. Jones. The host was found marching up and down on the far side of the garden. Mr. Brown thanked him for a very good dinner, and then said:

"Mr. Jones, the Cardinal would like to take a nap."

"Oh! I have no bed good enough for a Cardinal, Mr. Brown."

"The bed I occupied last night would do tip-top."

"Would it, Mr. Brown? Well, how shall we get him up there?"

"You go up with him and show him the way."

"Me? No, sir! I wouldn't do that."

"Well, go and see if the bed has been made up; then come down and tell me, and I'll show him the way."

"Oh! yes, I'll do that gladly, Mr. Brown."

The host ascended to the bedroom and came down to report that the room was in perfect order. Then he darted out the back door and into the garden again, as if an ogre were after him.

The Cardinal had his nap; as he left the house in the afternoon, there was no one to bid him good-by, the whole family being still in hiding.

One of the many persons who wrote long communications to the Cardinal concerning more or less abnormal ideas about religion was a woman in the West. At first he paid some attention to her communications, but as they increased in number and length, he discarded them,

throwing them into his waste basket as soon as he opened the envelopes and recognized the handwriting. One day a Sister who assisted in household duties at the archiepiscopal residence said to him:

"Your Eminence, you tore up one hundred dollars this morning."

Gibbons, greatly surprised, learned that the diligent Sister had found the remains of a torn one hundred dollar bill in the waste basket, accompanying the fragments of the latest letter received from the western woman. It appeared that the woman, hoping to attract notice to her communications on the part of the Cardinal, had adopted the expedient of sending him that amount to be used in good works. One of his friends used to jest with him on this subject occasionally, saying:

"Your Eminence, have you torn up any hundred dollar bills this morning?"

The Rev. Dr. H. Allen Tupper, formerly a Baptist minister in Baltimore, was greatly impressed one day by seeing the Cardinal pause on the street to speak to a ragged and dirty negro boy. The Cardinal put his hand on the boy's head, smiled, bestowed a few kindly words, and gave him a blessing. "What a picture for an artist!" Dr. Tupper commented in relating the story.

Another negro boy, who worked for a time at Gibbons' residence, was a brother of twins. In his exultation he used to tell stories of these twins to the Cardinal, who was always willing to listen to them. When the Cardinal would see the boy in the morning he would ask: "How are the twins coming along?"

Later one of the twins died, and the brother was grief-

stricken. The same day while returning in a motor car from a church celebration in Baltimore, wearing his robes, the Cardinal directed that the vehicle be driven to the home of the mother of the twins, in an alley, for the purpose of offering her, as he said, "a few consoling words." His presence in such a locality naturally caused a commotion, and a crowd rushed to the little house when the Cardinal went inside and expressed his deep sympathy for the negro family in his inimitable way.

One of the rare instances in which Gibbons administered stern reproofs was when a priest in the archiepiscopal household presented to him a certain letter for signature. He declined to sign it, saying that little or no judgment was displayed in asking him to do so. A short time later Gibbons went to the door of the priest's study, opened it and said: "Father, I wish to apologize for having spoken to you so sharply this morning."

While he was visiting in New Orleans, a young married woman obtained her father's permission to give a dinner at the latter's home in his honor, and invited a number of distinguished guests, including Archbishop Janssens, several clergymen and a number of persons socially prominent in the city. Gibbons accepted. When he arrived he found that the dinner table was decorated to an unusual degree with flowers. One of the important guests said to the hostess: "Take away the flowers; I cannot see the people for them."

She was much embarrassed at the lack of appreciation of her effort to beautify the table, but began to remove the flowers when Gibbons, observing her distress, greatly

lessened it by saying to her with one of his beaming smiles:

"Madam, the light of your countenance is sufficient for us."

At a dinner in Washington at which a number of United States senators were present, Senator Bayard, afterward Secretary of State, deplored in a conversation with Gibbons that the public addresses of legislators were delivered under restrictions that were often severe. He said:

"Ministers of religion like yourself have a great advantage over us. You can talk as long as you please, you can say what you please, you can upbraid if you please, and you are heard with silent respect without fear of contradiction, while we are liable to be interrupted by frequent rejoinders and interpellations."

The Cardinal playfully replied: "We have a clear field because we are always expected to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

Another story told of him is that he once summoned to his residence a man who held a high position in public life in Baltimore to say that one of his friends, a man of education, refinement and character, was in need of a position. The official promptly responded: "Your Eminence, send your friend to me, and I will have a position ready for him." To his surprise, he found that the Cardinal's friend was a retired Protestant minister.

When Gibbons preached at the Baltimore Cathedral, he almost always asked the choir to sing "Lead, Kindly Light." This was his favorite hymn. It expressed at once the philosophy of his life and the unfailing hope

which sustained him. When he preached, the leader of the choir was always alert to receive the Cardinal's signal to give the beautiful words and music of Cardinal Newman's consoling verses.

CHAPTER LIV

ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS

In considering the elements of greatness which Cardinal Gibbons possessed—and all of those who knew him with sufficient intimacy to judge attributed to him at least some of those elements—we are confronted at the outset by the fact that many persons found him by no means easy to understand. His nature seemed to be too wide and deep for comprehension at one glance, or indeed at many glances. This was all the more evident because he habitually concealed his strongest traits until there was the necessity to use them.

To those behind the scenes, as it were, it was apparent that one of his chief concerns, amounting to a clearly marked personal characteristic, was to avoid the appearance of overshadowing others. He wished no one, even the humblest, to be constrained or embarrassed in his presence and to a degree truly extraordinary was "all things to all men." Those of the largest mold who came in close contact with him—Popes, Presidents, statesmen, men of great affairs generally—rated him highest, while a child with whom he might romp would be disposed to say that he was only an excellent playmate. It is significant that among those who cherished the highest admiration for him and reposed the greatest confidence in

his powers were Leo XIII, Manning, Rampolla, Cleveland and Roosevelt.

In estimating the elements of greatness which he possessed we may divide the aspects in which he presented himself to his contemporaries into the classifications of character, general achievement, churchmanship, statesmanship, authorship, intellect and personality. Light upon these points in detail will afford some perspective for a general and composite opinion.

Americans have shown a marked preference for considering the possession of high and strong character as the first essential of true greatness. Their history as a nation affords ample evidence of a certain difference of viewpoint in this respect from Europeans. Their favorites, obviously, are Washington and Lincoln. In dwelling upon the merits of these men the sublimity of their characters is usually emphasized above all other considerations. The benignity, steadfastness, unselfish patriotism and fortitude of Washington are held up as an example to every pupil in the schools. Lincoln's boundless pity, his "malice toward none and charity for all," the self-effacing modesty which caused him to dwell upon his humble origin when he had risen to heights of greatness in the world's eyes, and his patient endurance of adversity overshadow in the public mind the executive gifts which he displayed during four of the most trying years of war which man ever faced. Looking back to the beginning of the national history of America, the first men whom the people considered great—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Hamilton—were distinguished preeminently by traits of character.

Gibbons, though he often heard others call him great, never showed any wish to be so considered. Had he done so, undoubtedly he would have made it plain that he preferred to be deemed great in character and that he esteemed lightly, or not at all, a verdict of greatness in any other respect.

The aspect of his character which was most evident to every observer was simplicity. That simplicity was profound, all pervading. He never lost it in his greatest moments or those which were most commonplace. His thoughts moved along easy and direct channels. No intricate and tortuous bed obstructed their limpid stream. His mind reduced everything—acts, motives, projects of great potency to humanity no less than the primary problems of his office as a priest—to their elements. He was almost childlike—indeed, was childlike at many times and regarding many things. If it were left to the judgment of those who were closest to him when he was in his prime to say whether or not his simplicity amounted to sublimity, their answer would be an almost unanimous affirmative.

A strongly defined trait which blended with his simplicity was his unselfishness. For himself he sought nothing of reward, even in honor and fame, of which at times, indeed, he appeared to possess too much for his liking. He rigidly excluded from his personal horizon all thoughts of ease or luxury, and devoted himself with single-minded purpose to labors in behalf of others, whose fruits would be seen in others.

So great was his simplicity of life that even the perquisites which other Cardinals customarily possess and

which are considered essential to the dignity of their office he discarded to the utmost extent possible. He would not keep a private livery in the days of the horse and carriage. Although extremely fond later of the motor car, principally because of his lifelong habit of being in the open air as much as possible, he would neither buy one nor consent to accept one as a present, although almost innumerable offers of that kind were pressed upon him. All his personal habits were frugal. The materials of his clothing were of the plainest sort and not infrequently showed signs of long wear, although he possessed a considerable zest for neatness of appearance and surroundings. All that was given to him and all that he earned by his own labors as an author he bestowed in works of benevolence upon others.

He was forgiving, as few men are, even to the extent of making enemies, or at least of raising up critics by his habitual attitude of forbearance to others. It seemed that he was incapable of retaining uncharitable thoughts or of remembering injury or antagonism. His clerical critics were few but usually rather vigorous in their expressions. Some of them were associated with him in his household at various times, and it was noticeable that a considerable proportion of their complaints arose from the fact that he exercised tolerance and charity which went beyond what they considered to be the requirements of strict justice.

There were several instances of priests in his dioceses who erred through mere weaknesses or mistakes of judgment which harmed only themselves. These men he would never punish severely, although he removed them

from positions where their acts might affect others. Like his Divine Master, he would forgive them not only seven times, but seventy times seven.

He could not be moved to sustained anger, although at times when an attempt was made to frustrate some of his purposes he showed temporary petulance. This soon passed like a thunder shower, and he indicated no remembrance of it afterward in his conversation or dealing with the individual who had provoked him.

He possessed a sense of justice and fairness which seemed to be sufficient to penetrate the thickest clouds. Many a man, priest or layman, found reliance in this when others were ready to condemn.

He did not care whether or not his judgments were approved by others as individuals or in the mass. Once he formed a definite conception of the right, he was as immovable as a rock.

In fact, his steadfastness was the one overwhelming trait which enabled him to accomplish the labors to which he devoted his life. A man of less persistence in the face of misunderstandings and other obstacles could never have succeeded in inducing the Congregation of the Holy Office to reverse its condemnation of the Knights of Labor, and could never have stemmed the tide of Cahenslyism, with its threat of forcing upon the Catholic Church in America assent to the permanency of large compact units of European nationalism transferred to these shores by immigration. A man who relied only upon faith in his own ideas could never have endured with the fortitude which Gibbons showed in some of his greater struggles. The one thing which sustained him

when all others failed was his simple and unshakable belief in the direct guidance of the affairs of men by Divine Providence.

Of the honor of the Church Gibbons was as jealous as Chevalier Bayard was of personal honor. The only two occasions in his long life when he seemed to be dismayed were when the Catholic University lost temporarily $850,000 of its investments through the failure in business in 1904 of Thomas E. Waggaman, its treasurer, and when a priest in Baltimore in an ill-considered effort to raise money for a new church became overwhelmed by debts through speculation. Neither of these deplorable incidents, of course, could affect the Catholic Church in general in any adverse way, as they were merely isolated conditions; nevertheless in his extreme solicitude for the Church, Gibbons regarded them as almost blighting personal misfortunes. His self-control and optimism wavered momentarily; but when the loss was repaired, chiefly through his own efforts, his serenity returned.

Few men were as nearly devoid of vanity as he. As all men could not understand him, he appreciated understanding when he found it, but this feeling seemed to be entirely dissociated from vanity. Even in his youth, as has been seen, he did not try to advance himself in the Church; he even resisted advancement when it was forced upon him by others. Never was he known to express any estimate of his own powers except by way of deprecation. In *The Ambassador of Christ* he wrote this remarkable sentence: "I have never spent a considerable time in the company of priest or layman without form-

ing comparisons to his advantage and to my own disparagement." [1]

His humility was not of the kind which expresses itself in a long face and a general aspect of gloom. He was cheerfulness itself in his habitual moods and seemed never so happy as when performing a simple service in a humble capacity. He would visit the sick or relieve an unfortunate person's want with far more alacrity than he would show in appearing in a rôle of honor at the Vatican or the White House.

Overshadowing all his personal conduct was his gentleness. Although it was evident that he radiated force of character from his person, it was not a destructive force. It was remarked of him that in all relations of life he seemed the true gentleman. He spoke commonly in moderately low and pleasing tones, and his movements were never jerky or demonstrative.

In the acts of piety which belong to the priesthood, the celebration of Masses, prayer and Scriptural readings and exercises, it is doubtful if any clergyman in America showed more fervor or used more of each day in personal devotions than Gibbons. This was to him the foundation of everything that he did, and he never neglected it or even modified it under the pressure of any public duty, no matter how exacting.

If character is the cornerstone of greatness, accomplishment is obviously one of its main pillars. Gibbons' life having been devoted chiefly to bringing about a comparatively few great and general results, we may consider in

[1] *The Ambassador of Christ*, p. 160.

detail how far he succeeded in his aims and the range of their usefulness and importance to humanity. First of all, it may be said that he shared with Leo XIII and Manning the dominant leadership in thought and action in the Catholic Church throughout the world in one of her most fruitful periods in modern times. Manning died in 1892. For eleven years after that Leo and Gibbons were the giants of the Church; then in 1903 Leo passed, and Gibbons stood alone for nearly a score of years, the foremost personality, under the Popes, of her Hierarchy in the world.

Those three men, more than all others, guided the Church's external policies in the direction of liberalism in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and Leo and Gibbons continued that guidance in the opening of the twentieth. Gibbons and Manning, being removed from Rome, had no prestige as heads of powerful subordinate organizations in the Curia, but were happily able to exercise their influence in the two countries which were most largely expressive of the development of those liberal ideas that both of them foresaw as impending for the world at large. Their unified thought—for they agreed as to all the general lines of the Church's opportunity to reach deeper into the hearts of men—swayed others by their own force in addition to the force of Catholic authority exerted from Leo as the fountain head. In the battle of ideas the views of these three prevailed and the steady, even remarkable advancement of the Church in a time of shifting conditions and general stress was accomplished by following their leadership.

Gibbons in the United States, or Manning in England,

could have sought contentment in performing the duties of capable administrators and setting an example of the episcopal virtues to their flocks, but there was in them something that ranged far beyond this. Their minds reached out to the largest opportunities which confronted the Church in her worldwide mission and, under the masterly leadership of Leo, they controlled her decisions upon critical questions which involved the characteristic changes of the world in their time. Their appeal to peoples rather than governments, which was the main foundation of all that they did, was vindicated in its results by the rise of popular rule, the wreck of dynasties and the advance of religion, shining with an unfading light amid the ruins of material systems around it.

In America the accomplishment of Gibbons in allaying the bitter intolerance concerning religion which prevailed in the early days of his priesthood was a giant's task. That he was the greatest single force in bringing about this transformation can scarcely be doubted. He labored from youth onward to attain it, laying the foundations in his work in North Carolina and Virginia, and by his book *The Faith of Our Fathers*, whose wide charity of view influenced tens of thousands who could be swayed directly by the voice of no priest or preacher. After his elevation to the archiepiscopal seat in Baltimore, he rose almost at a bound before his fellow countrymen as the national pattern and exemplar of religious tolerance, and he strove for it unceasingly by word and deed until the end of his labors.

Indeed, it was far more by example than by precept that he exhibited to his fellow-countrymen the sanity of

tolerance. He seldom spoke directly of the subject in sermons or public addresses, but by illustrating tolerance in himself in a unique way when he had attained a high position and held it for a long term of years, he changed the channels in which men's thoughts flowed.

Not only did he cause Protestants to be more tolerant of Catholics, and vice versa, but he actually made Protestant denominations more tolerant of each other. In a multiplicity of utterances he spoke no word of reproof against any Christian man or any Christian faith. How was it possible for malignant critics of the Church to repeat their formulas with even a semblance of belief in them when the foremost Catholic prelate in America, a man constantly before the eyes of the people, was the negation of all that they asserted? If one were moved to declare that the Catholic Church aimed at the political domination of America, it was only necessary to point to Gibbons in order to confound that dictum utterly. If one asserted that the Church sought to proscribe all other forms of religion in this country, it was only necessary to point to Gibbons as a consistent and powerful upholder of the principle of equal rights guaranteed fundamentally in the Constitution. How could men be persuaded that she taught gross errors and superstitious practises, when the life and personality of Gibbons gave direct evidence to the contrary?

Gibbons accomplished all this without the least modification in the orthodoxy of his belief. He merely proved that being a devoted Catholic was entirely compatible with thorough Americanism and with the friendliest at-

titude toward adherents of other faiths. For his Church and for himself, he claimed only such privileges as he freely conceded to others under the Constitution and laws. His forum was public opinion. He entered it boldly and pleaded his case.

Now and then, in the heat of the "A. P. A." agitation, some one was heard to say that the Cardinal declared his admiration for his country in order to bring about a false sense of security and to make the way easier for a contemplated inroad. This reasoning failed to take into account that he reprehended defects in American political and social institutions as often as he bestowed praise. He was like a sentinel on the tower, always crying the alarm at the approach of danger. Of all Americans, he was perhaps the most outspoken in denouncing national faults, and he was not infrequently the first one of prominence to expose them. Throughout his career, however, he expressed unfailing faith in the future and in the capacity of the people to right their own wrongs by orderly means. He held up an ideal and tried to guide the footsteps of the people toward it.

Undoubtedly much of his success in routing religious intolerance in America and thereby opening a way for the Catholic Church which resulted in an immense accession to her numbers was due to his settling in definite form, at the outset of his career as Cardinal, the question of the Catholic stand in regard to the separation of Church and State in the United States. There had been no real cause for doubt as to this stand before, but Gibbons understood thoroughly that the doubt existed, baseless or not, in America, and that it was one of his main stum-

bling blocks in the program of Catholic advance which he planned.

The able leaders of the Church in Rome would have considered it madness to attempt an encroachment upon the equal toleration of all sects and the favoritism of none which are engrafted in the Constitution. There was, of course, the historical Catholic background that in the days when all Christians throughout the world acknowledged but one faith and one spiritual shepherd on earth, the relations between Church and State bore a character and intimacy which reflected those conditions. No Pope and no Bishop could so far depart from Catholic teaching as to assert that the Church would not accomplish a greater spiritual benefit to man if she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the protection of the public authorities. The assertion of this general principle, however, had never possessed in practise any direct bearing upon America, where an overwhelming majority of the population has always been Protestant. John Carroll, the first American Archbishop, coincided to the fullest extent with the American system when it was set up, and the prelates who have come after him have never proposed to change it. The Church has repeatedly declared through the Popes that she adapts herself to all forms of civil government, and is unwilling to have her mission thwarted by conflict with the civil authorities anywhere.

How did Gibbons interpret this matter in his own mind? His writings and public speeches have left no shadow of doubt on that point. He believed that the Catholic Church under the conditions that prevailed in

his time and would probably continue to prevail would thrive better if entirely divorced from civil institutions, but fully protected in her spiritual mission. He did not wish to force his own views upon European countries, regarding it as proper that each nationality should settle the question in its own way, provided that the solution were not inconsistent with the full and free advance of the Catholic faith. As to America, he was convinced that complete acquiescence by word and deed at all times in the system which prevailed here was best from every point of view.

Confronted by this situation and by the misunderstanding of it on the part of great numbers of his fellow-countrymen, he decided to deliver at a most timely moment, his installation as Cardinal in his titular Church in Rome, a declaration which would give the incredulous no more room for doubt. Basing his stand upon the encyclical of Leo XIII, the reigning Pope, concerning "The Constitution of Christian States," he declared that the Church "in the genial atmosphere of liberty blossoms like a rose," and that in the United States "the civil government holds over us the ægis of its protection without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the gospel of Christ." His speech was a carefully planned exposition of the true meaning of the American system as to the relations of Church and State, and no one since that time has been able to obtain any important degree of popular assent to the view that the Church proposes an assault upon the institutions of the country.

When the Cardinal uttered this declaration, the rela-

tions between Church and State in not a few countries in Europe were far different from what he lived to see them become. A shadow of the old conditions still overhung some of the other Cardinals in their thoughts upon the subject, and they were naturally startled at the boldness of Gibbons. They reflected viewpoints with which they had always been associated in their own countries. His declaration was never questioned by Leo or any succeeding Pope, or any other authority in the Church. It and its results stand to this day as a complete refutation of the most potent argument which was used to cripple the Catholic Church in the aggressive spiritual mission to the American people which has been her aim from the beginnings of the country.

By his victory for Americanism in the struggle against the splitting up of the Church in this country into groups based upon former European nationalism, he served both Church and country to a degree whose full significance it was only possible to realize in the light of the World War. The power and resourcefulness which he showed in that struggle probably marked his maximum.

Upon this question he seemed to see into the future with singular clearness. The great onset of immigration into the United States from Europe in the last two decades of the nineteenth century had excited on the part of other leaders of American thought occasional apprehension and nothing more. Now and then some one in authority was heard to say that the strain upon the assimilative power of the American people was great, but no one proposed an acceptable remedy. There was apparently general reliance upon the continued working of

that assimilative power to a degree sufficient to overcome the threatened danger.

Gibbons was not content to warn or merely to trust in the future without taking action to anticipate it. He, too, felt that American assimilation would do the work, but his conviction was equally firm that the process must be assisted by those who were able to exercise influence in strengthening and sustaining it.

The main basis of Cahenslyism—the formidable movement for the appointment of Bishops in the Catholic Church in America on the basis of the numbers comprising foreign groups in the Church here—was merely the expression of natural forces that were set in motion by the unprecedented tide of humanity that poured in this direction from Europe. When the immigration reached its greatest height, the largest proportion of the newcomers were from countries in which the Catholic faith predominated, and the Church was the only agency with a sufficiently wide and powerful reach to exercise a definite influence upon them in their daily lives.

Cahenslyism would have preserved, even jealously guarded, their former nationalities in the new country to which they came. Its effect, had it not been stifled before it had any important effect, would have been to impair and even to destroy in some parts of the country the validity of the bond of the English language as an overshadowing force in American national unity. The immigrants would have been secluded, as it were, from the mass of the people previously here, so that opportunities would have been lacking for them to understand the principles of the government under which they had come to

live, and a dense cloud of misunderstanding between them and the remainder of the population would have become permanent. No one foresaw as fully as Gibbons the possible consequences of this policy if the United States should become engaged in war with a nation from which a large proportion of these immigrants had sprung.

Some speeches, indeed, were made and some admirable work was attempted by a comparatively small number of organizations of Americans to assist in the assimilation of the foreigners. The public school authorities in some of the States attempted to aid in their assimilation, but in other States school boards preserved diverse nationality by the establishment of separate language schools. The children of Catholic immigrants, however, did not for the most part attend the public schools. Their education was received in the parochial schools, and it was there that the influence of Gibbons reached them.

Statesman that he was, he did not wish to attempt to sever them from their former ties by a violent wrench. He knew that this would be ineffective, and, indeed, that it might impair a just solution in no small degree, but he believed in providing an orderly process, which would be sufficiently rapid, by which the immigrants and their children would be led gradually to mingle on terms of equality with the rest of the people of America, and, at the earliest practicable time, would consider their new life as fact and their former life as memory. From the time when he obtained the decision of Rome in his favor on this point the Catholic Church became, and has since continued to be, an active agent for the gradual, orderly and effective Americanization of immigrants who arrive in

America. Forces that might have produced disunion in the World War were so weakened that they did not seriously arrest the participation of the country in that conflict according to its own national ideals.

But this was only a part of the service which Gibbons performed. Had the custom of electing nationalist Bishops in America been sanctioned by Papal authority, the unity of the Catholic Church in this country would have been wofully impaired. It would have been composed then, as Gibbons plainly foresaw and plainly said, of discordant groups striving from the active force of nationalist rivalries and impairing what in his sermon at the conferring of the pallium upon Archbishop Katzer he called "this blessed harmony that reigns among us."

Furthermore, what would the critics of the Catholic Church have said when the World War burst? With what vehemence might they have denounced the Church for preserving the nationality of foreigners after their arrival and lending the power of her organization to arrest assimilation? The storm of criticism might even have broken before the war. The enemies of the Church were lying in wait to find some means of assailing her as un-American, and in the working out of the system proposed by the Cahenslyites, what a leverage they might have attained! When the war came, some irresponsible Catholic belonging to one of the foreign groups might have made an immature remark in which he might have claimed the protection of the Church for an anti-American policy, and such a remark, if misconstrued, might have led to the gravest consequences.

Gibbons wished to keep the record clear. He felt that

the Catholic Church from the dawn of the Republic had done nothing hostile to American nationality and institutions, but, on the other hand, had been a staunch and consistent upholder of them. If she were to mar this record through yielding to persistent demands which proceeded in great part from Europe, and whose background lay, to a certain degree, in mysterious forces identified with nationalist aggression there, a new wave of intolerance, like that of "Know Nothing" times, might have swept over the country.

The supposed danger which excited the violent apprehensions of the "Know Nothings" and led to their bloody and cruel proscriptions was the mere presence of the foreigners; if added to their presence there had been a policy deliberately followed by the Catholic Church of keeping them separate from the main body of citizens, and preventing their absorption by natural means, the storm of intolerance might have been angrier than it had ever been.

Gibbons was not satisfied to know that the Church was doing nothing whatever that might be properly considered to stamp her as a foreign influence. He wished all his fellow-citizens to know this also, and he could not be content if there was any misunderstanding on their part, no matter what the cause. His stand against Cahenslyism not only made American unity possible in the World War, but probably warded off another period of bitter feeling against the Church which would have stayed her progress when she was growing faster than she had ever grown.

Light upon Gibbons' character is thrown by the fact

that in this struggle, as in others in which he engaged, he possessed the singular faculty of retaining the esteem of those against whom he contended. Not once in the long process of strife did he utter a word of reproach against any particular foreign nationality or the mass of its people in this country, or any of its spokesmen in the Church in America. Archbishop Ireland, who ably assisted him throughout the conflict, pursued methods which drew the intense fire of the opposition, little as he heeded it; but during the period while it lasted the Cahenslyites never spoke of Gibbons with disrespect, although they strove to the utmost limit of their power to circumvent his purposes.

Years after the fight was over and the victory won, Cahensly, whose name the movement had retained when it had swept far beyond its original proportions, visited the Cardinal at the archiepiscopal residence in Baltimore in the course of a trip to America, and rendered personal homage to the man who had done so much to overthrow the cause for which he had stood. Gibbons, always free from bitterness, received him with kindness and spoke afterward of the "pleasant" conversation which they had had; but as long as life remained in him he did not cease to be glad that he had met with firmness the danger of foreign nationalism in America when it had presented itself in its most threatening aspect.

Another accomplishment of Gibbons which stamped him as a leader of men was the marked influence which he exerted in causing America to be better understood abroad. He was the first of his fellow-countrymen to make an important inroad upon the misconception of

the United States, its institutions and its people which prevailed for so long and to such a great extent among the principal nations of Europe. There had been a belief that America was an experiment, poorly conceived, a temporary factor in the world which contained within itself elements of dissolution. There were exaggerated views of its people and its public men. While all Europeans did not share in this misunderstanding, it prevailed among many millions and was an obstacle to solidly based international accord.

European churchmen, both Catholics and Protestants —not because they were churchmen, but because they were Europeans—had once regarded as radical and even revolutionary the separation of Church and State as established by the Constitution of 1787. In their eyes it seemed to divorce religion from the body politic and therefore to impair the State as an uplifting force among the people. In countries where various Protestant churches were established and supported in part by the State the same feeling prevailed as in Catholic countries. The main thought was that the American system meant irreligion, while the European system meant the fostering of religious influence by the State in behalf of the people.[2]

By his speech in Rome in 1887, just a century after the framing of the Constitution, on the relations of Church and State in America, and by numerous subsequent declarations and acts abroad, Gibbons brought home to the thinking portion of the European peoples a comprehension of the working in practise of the Ameri-

[2] Bryce, *The American Commonwealth,* Vol. II, p. 767.

can system, as distinguished from the working in practise of the European system, and as separated from the theoretical aspects of either. He showed that in America the Church was perhaps more secure in her rights than anywhere else in the world, and that the protection which had been given to her in her spiritual mission had resulted in accessions such as she had gained in no European country. He showed that the leaders of America, from Washington down, had been for the most part men of deep religious feeling, and that this influence had been woven in the thread of the nation's life.

He also brought home to Europe a comprehension that America had not only a free but a strong government, long before that lesson was learned from example in the World War. The institutions of the United States, he pointed out, while having an appearance of laxity, really contained within themselves stronger elements of permanency than were to be found in the institutions of some of the other great powers, because they possessed by virtue of their elasticity the capacity to withstand a sudden shock. Leaders of European thought first learned from Gibbons to believe that America was a fixed and permanent factor as a power of the first rank and that its institutions, so far from being unworthy to be compared with those of Europe, were worthy of imitation throughout the world in some respects. He lived to see a tremendous strengthening of the democratic ideal abroad, in conformity with what he had so long predicted to incredulous observers on the other side of the Atlantic.

In this connection it is well to consider that his influ-

ence, far more than that of any other churchman whom America has produced, extended outside his own country. His victory in the struggle for the right of labor to organize affected more Europeans in the aggregate than Americans, for, as the principle was soon sanctioned by Leo and proclaimed in one of that Pope's encyclicals, it was a charter for Catholic workmen throughout the world. European labor leaders were not slow to acknowledge that it was Gibbons to whom they owed this powerful influence exerted in their behalf.

The battle against Cahenslyism was distinctly a battle against encroachment by European nationalist groups, and it was discussed abroad with fully as much heat and persistence as in the United States. There was no lack of comprehension of the fact that upon the decision concerning it depended the question as to whether European groups as such were to obtain a permanent foothold in America; and when they found Gibbons the outstanding figure who prevented the threatened incursion, they could not fail to realize his own power and the strength of the country for which he stood.

In parts of the world where little was known of America, and less of its public men, the fame of Gibbons penetrated. A story was told—whether true or not, it illustrated a condition—of an eastern Prince to whom the United States meant three things and three only. The first was George Washington, the second was the Rocky Mountains, and the third was Cardinal Gibbons.

His sweeping success in his defense of the rights of organized labor and his great influence in stifling Socialism in the United States clearly marked the channel of

his thoughts on the subject of industrialism, that pregnant theme which absorbed the attention of men to such a great extent during the most fruitful period of his life. He wished to lift the workingman and at the same time to save him from extremes. On the question of labor, as on other questions which he considered to be fundamental to the progress of his fellowmen, Gibbons was not content to preach or advise. He stood for action. While the debt of labor to him for his determined championship is a general one throughout the civilized world, the debt for the checking of the progress of Socialism in the United States was especially one on the part of his fellow-countrymen who see in American conservatism and moderation the only safety of their national institutions.

The verdict in favor of the Knights which he obtained in Rome was, as he knew it would be, a verdict in favor of all other labor organizations. It was not a victory so limited as to impair substantial realization of its fruits in any way. He obtained full assent to the general right of labor to organize as a principle of industrialism which amounted to its protection by the Church. In the exercise of that right, the method of organization, the policies and plans to be followed in carrying out the purpose, were not abridged. It was a broad charter for men everywhere, regardless of creed or race.

Had it not been for the influence of Gibbons thus exerted the progress of the labor movement would have been seriously impeded for an indefinite time in all countries where the Church was strong. Perhaps to no other churchman than himself would the project of inducing the Congregation of the Holy Office to reverse itself

have appeared to be practical. Some, indeed, would have considered the attempt to be little short of madness. A measure of Gibbons' boldness may be conceived from the utter fearlessness with which he began and waged the battle to victory in the face of that obstacle.

Another public service of Gibbons—like his rout of Cahenslyism, a service both for Church and country—was that which he rendered in facilitating the transfer of the status of the Catholic Church in the islands acquired from Spain by the United States to the status which prevails in this country. Statesmen at Washington learned the difficulties of this transfer as soon as the islands passed into American possession. The Church had extensive property rights in all of them, fortified by the civil laws of centuries and by the custom and thought of the people, among whom the system was not different from that which prevailed in Spain. The problem of the Friar lands in the Philippines was an especial complication which, as we have seen, threatened to prolong a state of armed resistance to American authority.

Gibbons early perceived the need of effective interposition to assist both Church and State in the readjustment of relations in the islands, so that complete conformity with the American system might be obtained with the least possible jarring of the sensibilities of the people affected. Obstacles were many and intricate and he intervened only where the regular processes of negotiation and transfer seemed to be inadequate. Mainly through his influence, especially as wielded in the course of his trip to Rome soon after the Spanish War, every

difficulty was removed and he lived to see the solution accepted by all as just and necessary.

No résumé of the things accomplished by him would be complete without reference to his services as a reformer in American public life. For years he was an active, conspicuous and continuous reform influence. He helped in a signal manner to marshal public opinion against the ballot frauds which once prevailed and were finally checked, against laxity and corruption in public administration, against the delays of the courts, against lynch law, and in fact, against virtually all of the public evils which developed to considerable proportions in his time.

His war upon civic abuses was not an indiscriminate one, and he wasted no time in the expression of platitudes about general conditions which could not be applied directly to relief. Every time he assailed an evil he proposed a remedy, and he drove home his points with persistence when he was once aroused to take a definite stand. He was not a reformer in the sense of being a scoffer at the institutions of whose abuses he complained; but he held that militant watchfulness was essential in order that the political life of the Republic should be prevented from degenerating into abuses and scandals. So far as it was in him, he gave his thought, time and effort to keep clean the civic temple; and no small share of the great regard in which he was held by his fellow-countrymen was due to the consistency of his labors in that respect.

CHAPTER LV

GIFTS AS A LEADER

We come now to a point in the consideration of the elements of greatness that Gibbons possessed to which no obscurity is attached—his brilliancy as a churchman. In any appraisement of the gifts and acts which contributed to his undoubted preeminence in this respect it is well to bear in mind that his purely ecclesiastical record was obscured to some extent in the public mind by the remarkable range and force of his activities outside the Church, which lent themselves more readily to general comprehension. Much of what he fought for and accomplished within the Church was little known at the time, because so much of it was done in higher councils whose proceedings were not open to public scrutiny. He had reached the most intense period of his struggle in behalf of the right of labor to organize before a word of what he was doing leaked out, and the surprise of the world was great when a copy of his burning appeal in behalf of the object upon which he had set his heart was obtained surreptitiously and printed. In the ordinary process of ecclesiastical propriety he would have waited until the decision had been given before making any public utterance on the subject and even then he might have continued to preserve silence in order to avoid linking his own efforts or personality with the result.

The full measure of what he did in the long grapple with Cahenslyism was not comprehended at the time by more than a small, well-informed inner circle of ecclesiastical and political life in the United States and European countries. It was widely understood, of course, in a general way that Gibbons was the leader of the supreme struggle of those who stood for Americanism in that case. But the details of his systematic and protracted efforts to still the strident voice of foreign nationalism in America were involved in much obscurity. He was not of the type of man to claim any credit for himself in such affairs, and besides he had learned early in life, like other Catholic ecclesiastics, to preserve personal confidence inviolate.

His work in organizing and presiding over the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, bearing fruit as it did in the production of a monumental system of Catholic legislation which was subsequently used as a model for similar councils in other countries, was strictly churchmanship. This was one of the feats of his life, an outstanding ecclesiastical achievement of the nineteenth century. It stamped him as the Moses of the Catholic Church in America in the sense of being its lawgiver. Leo XIII was one of those who bestowed upon him the highest praise for this and went so far as to commend it especially in an encyclical.

No churchman can be put to the test more exactingly than by being charged under the Pope with the responsibility as Apostolic Delegate for a Plenary Council. The task requires a complete and analytical knowledge of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and a thorough

grasp upon its immense range of scholarship. No ecclesiastic other than one deeply learned and possessing rare executive traits could hope to accomplish it in such a manner as Gibbons did. Each Plenary Council frames a complete constitution for the discipline of the Church in its jurisdiction, being a national synod. The broad field covered, as indicated by the titles of the Third Plenary Council's decrees, runs: The Catholic faith, ecclesiastical persons, Divine worship, the sacraments, the education of clerics, the education of Catholic youth, Christian doctrine, zeal for souls, Church property, ecclesiastical trials and ecclesiastical sepulture.

The foundation laid in the Council was not only comprehensive, but enduring. No churchman since that time who is informed upon the subject has doubted that it was a master hand that framed the chart by which the Catholic bark has been steered in the United States ever since.

In the Council, and on many subsequent occasions, Gibbons showed his unsurpassed skill as a presiding officer. His ability as an executive must be taken into account in an important sense in any estimate of his powers. While the Archbishop of Baltimore has the place of honor among American Archbishops, he possesses no general or patriarchal jurisdiction, and a Cardinal has no jurisdiction whatever in virtue of being a member of the Sacred College except in the interregnum following the death of a Pope. Leo XIII, however, bestowed upon Gibbons by successive acts a status which no other Cardinal outside of Rome possessed. To the Archbishop of Baltimore were entrusted so many general commissions

of Church government and authority beyond his immediate jurisdiction that he became the real ecclesiastical leader in America, and the force of his personality made this all the stronger. Other prelates, swayed by devotion to him and the things for which he stood, were eager to follow him in thought and action, and thus his aims, policies and methods became those of the Church throughout the country. He was the presiding officer at the meetings of the American Archbishops at which, under ecclesiastical law, important decisions were taken and these decisions came to reflect his views virtually without variation.

His overshadowing object, in which all others were blended, was that the Church should spread religion to the widest bounds. This was to be accomplished by the fostering of the missionary spirit through the appointment of the ablest leaders as Bishops and the best man as priests and by removing friction within the Church and between the Church and people of other creeds. When he became Archbishop the number of Catholics in the United States was, in round numbers, 6,000,000; he lived to see that number tripled. No organization, ecclesiastical, political or industrial, had a more successful leader in his time. He was the generalissimo *par excellence* in scope and boldness of conception, skill in method and almost incredible efficiency as judged by the accomplishment of results.

Gibbons' rank as a churchman was emphasized by his authorship of the most successful popular treatise upon Catholic doctrines produced in modern times. The results that have proceeded from the immense circulation

of *The Faith of Our Fathers* were of the kind that he preferred always to seek—the harvest of souls.

Men in the front ranks of public life testified abundantly to his possession of extraordinary qualities of statesmanship. He was compared to Cardinal Richelieu in his gifts in that field, and again it was said of him that had he entered politics he would have become President of the United States. Undoubtedly he possessed all the traits that would contribute to make any man President. He had such a strong aptitude for public affairs that it was an almost irresistible impulse for him to engage in them in some way; yet withal his sense of fitness in such things was so keen that he never violated delicate proprieties in doing so.

First among his gifts of statesmanship was an all-comprehensive grasp of government in the abstract, combined with one of the most practical of judgments in the application of its principles by methods based upon accurate understanding of human nature. He did not wander astray after barren aims, but never once lowered his standard of principles. His mind reached out even to the minor details of the processes of politics and government, and he was as much at ease when talking to a President upon these subjects, as when talking to a Pope upon ecclesiastical affairs. He seemed to know how everything in public life ought to be done, often better than the statesmen knew; and some of the most eminent of them were glad to learn from him. His natural qualities of leadership fitted him to command the great no less than the small. He could persuade men against their wills and they would thank him for doing so.

Most of his battles for causes within the Church were won by the exercise of what amounted to consummate skill in statesmanship. Had a force so compelling in the affairs of men existed without the softening influences of religion, one might shudder to think of the lengths to which it could have gone. Permeated throughout with humility and guided by the code of a devoted priest, it was a monumental blessing.

In rating Gibbons as a statesman it is necessary to consider the limitations under which he labored. He could hold no public office and never once did he endorse a political party or a partizan candidate. No other American outside the ranks of officialdom had even approximately filled his rôle as a citizen. As the American people learned to know him, they listened to his voice almost as that of a prophet. In times of stress, they sought his calm, patriotic counsel and received it with gratitude and full confidence, such as they gave to the counsel of no other man. Ready—perhaps too ready—to doubt their chosen leaders in public office, they came to discard all doubt as to the wisdom and sincerity of the advice of Gibbons. When he spoke to them his words were of the common concerns of all his fellow-countrymen, asking no favors for himself or for his Church.

As an author, Gibbons may be rated much the same as he was rated as a preacher. His books were the most popular and most widely circulated of their kind in America and, in the case of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, in the world; but as he deliberately avoided profundity in expression so that his message might not go over the heads

of the millions whom he sought to reach, his rank in a literary sense falls short in this respect. One may form some conception of the heights which it would have been possible for him to attain as an author from the first edition of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, now no longer circulated. That gem of limpid and finished simplicity in English style was his own individual product, but the later and expanded form of the same book, embodying a multitude of suggestions made to him by others, is to some extent the expression of diverse personalities.

Our Christian Heritage is distinctly strong as a piece of reasoning, and it is doubtful if any other popular treatise ever set forth so effectively for the multitudes to read the defense of the underlying principles of the Christian faith. Even the logic of the book is simplified to a point where any one can comprehend it, as Gibbons wished it to be, and therefore, considered as an intellectual product alone, it is of a different type from the elaborate reasoning of the great doctors of the Church.

Again, in the case of his volume of sermons there is the same apparent desire to write down to the level of the average man, for he considered his mission at all times to be for humanity in the mass where the largest harvest was possible. *The Ambassador of Christ*, written as a guide for priests, bears the characteristics of a text-book, rather than of a general work of literature, though the limpid style in which he wrote almost everything pervades it, and gives it an artistic finish. *The Retrospect of Fifty Years* is, for the most part, a group of his previous public papers and utterances.

In all his books there is an utter lack of any sign of

the vanity of authorship. Gibbons obviously wished them to do good to others, rather than to enhance his own reputation. No matter what his unrevealed gifts as an author may have been, he deliberately moulded them to the practical in the pursuit of his mission as he saw it.

Any measure of greatness that may be attributed to him must embrace, of course, an estimate of his general powers of intellect, and we may profitably attempt a close view of them. First, it may be said that his intellectual superiority impressed all who came in contact with him, despite apparent attempts on his part to make no display of it. Among his mental gifts one of the most singular and noticeable was largeness of vision. He judged important matters by a standard which included a long range of years and varying expressions of human development. His decisions did not seem to be based usually upon immediate and plainly evident conditions. He saw blessing in the future where other men sometimes predicted disaster; and he perceived ominous danger in things which other men contemplated with a sense of security.

The general processes of his intellectual decisions were so wide that few men could comprehend them without long and serious thought. In time, most of those who were associated with him, or who were among his advisers or were charged with the responsibility of carrying out his decisions, came to accept his views as scarcely short of inspired, considering this condition as a phenomenon for which they could not account, but the existence of which they formed the habit of acknowledging.

His range of accurate knowledge was one of the most

extraordinary of his time, and he seemed to be almost equally at home on any subject which was placed before his mind. To cite an instance, he could sit among a group of United States senators and members of the lower house of Congress and discuss the question of Philippine independence, showing the possession of an immense mass of detailed information in regard to every aspect which it was worth while to consider. Again, at a meeting of Archbishops no one present knew the history of the inner processes of the Church in America as he did, or possessed a deeper comprehension of all methods that must be employed according to ecclesiastical procedure in the settlement of questions, whether or not it was necessary to refer them to Rome. He would attend a meeting of the trustees of the Catholic University or one of the numerous institutions of benevolence maintained in the diocese of Baltimore and show a greater familiarity with details in regard to the particular subject of discussion than any one else present.

Perhaps the most amazing mental trait which he customarily exhibited was perception. His mind appeared to take in not only the spoken word but even the unspoken thought. A visitor—perhaps a personal friend—would see him with the intention of presenting a long statement and seeking his judgment, which practically all who knew him valued more highly than that of any other man. The Cardinal was willing to listen, but after a comparatively few words had been spoken it was apparent to the visitor that Gibbons comprehended everything which was in his mind. Evidence of this was so

plain that the long explanation was often reduced to a short and simple one.

This might be attributed by some to one of those mental processes akin to the psychic, which it would be out of place to discuss here. If one sought to explain it by reliance upon evident things, he would perhaps turn for a reason to the truly immense knowledge which Gibbons possessed on a great variety of subjects, including the characters and personal relations of those with whom he came in contact, and which enabled him to anticipate their thoughts by processes of quick deduction.

All the movements of his mind were extraordinarily rapid, and many of them were apparently instantaneous. He pondered little over any decision, sometimes apparently not at all. Occasionally some one who consulted him would assume from this that he spoke hastily and that there was not sufficient reflection behind his deliverance. If Gibbons were questioned further in such a case, he would put in words a long chain of thought which would show that his decision was far from being the result of what is called "jumping at conclusions."

The elasticity of his mind was as noticeable as its quickness. It never seemed to tire even though his body might be almost in a state of collapse. Every subject seemed to be interesting to him. He could turn from one to another with complete ease, and the last person to whom he spoke might form the conclusion that the matter taken up had been the only one upon his mind at the time, although far greater affairs might have been pressing him a moment before, or might be still pressing

him. No one ever detected any limit to his intellectual capacity, no matter what the strain that was put upon it, and no matter what the cause of that strain.

Naturally akin to quickness of mind, he possessed an almost incredibly retentive memory. It was a memory that lasted over such a long chain of years that it mystified those who had a chance to observe its range. Not only did it apply to the important affairs with which it was abundantly stored from the circumstances of his career; it absorbed and retained knowledge of intimate personal details relating to hundreds of individuals. Never in such cases did he appear to make a mistake.

As of facts, his memory of faces was remarkable, and it was said of him that he never seemed to forget a face. He readily recognized persons whom he had not seen for a score of years and talked with them on terms of familiarity, as if their parting had been but of yesterday.

One of the characteristics of his memory was that it was as retentive of words as of facts. He could not only remember the substance of statements which it was necessary to cite, but could recall the exact language in which they were framed, and this, not infrequently, after much time had elapsed. Even beyond the age of eighty years, he could memorize a sermon which he had written by merely reading it over twice.

A great proportion of the Bible was imprinted upon his mind literally. It was his habit to clothe many of his thoughts in scriptural language, that of the Old Testament as well as the New; and churchmen were often amazed to find long discourses from the Bible rolling from the end of his tongue, as if he held that sacred book

before him and were glancing directly into its pages. It is not easy to believe that any man of his time was able to quote the Bible as freely as he did and with as much accuracy. There was no evidence that he ever attempted to memorize the Bible or any part of it; but no day passed without extensive reading of it by him, and thus the sentences clung tenaciously in his mind.

Not only did no intellectual process seem to be beyond the reach of his powers, but the deepest of such processes appeared to be easy and simple to him. Nevertheless it was ingrained in his nature to avoid what he might consider, even if others did not, as an appearance of putting the mind above the heart. He deliberately turned his back upon a career that might have centered upon theology and philosophy, as involving retirement from the world while the clamorous call within his soul was to go out among men and share to the fullest in their wholesome aspirations. All this is far from saying that he underestimated the value to religion of research in the weightier forms of its scholarship, for he kept up his studies in them throughout his life. But in regard to these things he was receptive only.

A proposal or an idea suggested to him seemed to be instantly separated into its elements in his mind, as if it were a ray of light broken up by the spectroscope. It was impossible to deceive him in a mental sense, though persons who appealed to him for help in need could easily impose upon him. His gaze seemed to pierce through the exterior of any one who was talking to him and reveal every hidden thought.

Alertness was one of the chief characteristics of his

intellect. It was always poised for instant action. Mentally he seemed, even when physically weary, like a knight riding into the joust with the keen point of his lance perfectly poised.

The question may be asked—though the answer would be by no means conclusive—did Gibbons produce an impression of greatness upon others? History attests that external appearances are often deceptive as standards of judgment in this respect. Nevertheless, we may examine the point as a subordinate if not a major consideration. First, it is worth while to say that the outstanding feeling of those who came in fairly close contact with him was a sense of an indefinable superiority on his part, unassociated with his red robe, his office or any material circumstance. This impression was so pronounced that men of practical affairs, possessing no small share of mental attainments—in fact, some who possessed a very large share of such attainments—were often confused in his presence, in spite of all that he habitually did to put them at their ease.

Only by serious effort could some of them muster enough calmness to conduct a simple conversation with him, and they left with their heads in a whirl, recollecting little of what had taken place. After this mental agitation passed, the remembrance of every thing important that had developed in the course of the interview would usually come back to them, and they would find themselves puzzled to discover a reason for having been so seriously disconcerted without any reason that was either apparent or sufficient.

The effect thus produced was chiefly noticeable in the

cases of strangers or those who saw him seldom. So far as the sense of his superiority was concerned, friends who were accustomed to visit him frequently had precisely the same feeling; but instead of being overshadowed with confusion in his presence after they had grown to know him well, they usually passed to the other extreme and were soothed to an extraordinary degree by his gentleness and benignity. In virtually every instance, except as to persons who did not possess normal dispositions, or who were swayed by some particular motive, both friends and strangers looked upon him as an enigma, a unique blend of the greater qualities which men may exhibit.

How far these impressions proceeded from Gibbons' force of character and mind, and how far from the more or less physical force called "personal magnetism," it would be impossible to judge accurately. This magnetism, to employ the term as a convenient form of expression, was evident in the largest crowd and, of course, still more to those in close individual contact with him. Its power was apparently exerted without effort on his part and it appeared to be fully as great when he was in repose as when in action. Everywhere he went it stamped him as a commanding figure.

When he entered a room at a public meeting, no matter how high were the dignitaries assembled, all eyes were turned to him, and the general impression of his superiority swept like a wave over the crowd. If some one else happened to be speaking or otherwise taking a prominent part in the exercises, attention was instantly diverted to Gibbons and remained centered upon him

until he left. An orator might harangue ever so well, but the eyes of a majority of the crowd were riveted upon the Cardinal with a gaze as of fascination. His address, no matter how simple and modest, was rated as the "hit" of the occasion, and people crowded around him at the close of the proceedings to do him honor.

No Americans of recent years except Blaine and Roosevelt had shown personal influence over crowds of men approaching that of Gibbons. To reach further back, one would find no approximation closer in time than Henry Clay, with whom Blaine was sometimes compared. There was no general parallel between the character of Gibbons and that of Blaine, who happened to be one of the men high in political life in America whom he knew well. Neither was there a general parallel between his character and Clay's, although both of them possessed a singular capacity for bringing a harmonious result out of a discordant gathering.

The red robe of the Cardinal may have heightened the effect described, but did not give rise to it, for it was equally noticeable upon occasions when he was dressed in simple black. Even persons who differed from him in view in some things would be swept along by the mass psychology of those around them and join in applauding him on public occasions.

There was nothing in the physique of Gibbons to cause awe in others; yet the feeling of awe which many felt when near him was unmistakable. His features and form did not primarily express majesty or imply domination; on the contrary, winning sweetness was his most prominent characteristic.

He had a wonderful smile which lit up his whole countenance and matched the expression of his keen blue eyes. Never did the outward aspect of a man correspond more closely to his real life, work and purposes. There was dignity, but it was of the appealing rather than of the overpowering kind. He seemed to be a living, personified plea for a fair hearing, a tolerant spirit, good feeling and earnest, united effort in helpful directions.

In Europe he was considered to be a true type of the American in appearance. His face and form, combined, denoted alertness, perception, initiative, activity, vivacity and even vigor and determination, in spite of his evident physical frailty. The slightness of his physique was less apparent when the man was surveyed at a casual glance, for the face gave the predominant impression. No man's face was more truly the index of his soul than the face of Gibbons.

CHAPTER LVI

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

Sitting in his study one day in July, 1913, Cardinal Gibbons remarked to a friend: "On next Wednesday I shall be seventy-nine years old." Then he added in a subdued voice: "I do not think that I shall live much longer; my life is nearly spent."

The friend was surprised and shocked that the Cardinal's thoughts should take such a turn, but he smiled and continued:

"I will soon be an octogenarian and nature must take its course. Almighty God has blessed me with a long life, and I am ready to answer whenever He sees fit to call me to render an account of my stewardship. When the call comes, I think it will be a sudden one."

The friend inquired anxiously as to the condition of his health. He answered:

"I still feel young and capable of performing several more years of labor, yet I think that I will soon pass away. You know it is the soul that makes us young or old. If our souls be young, though our bodies be as old as Methuselah's, we are young indeed."

There had come by that time an unmistakable waning of Gibbons' strength, and there were signs that he was as well aware of it as any one else. Nevertheless, his

spirit rose in resolute resistance to the thought either that he should begin a life of partial retirement, as some of his friends advised, or even that he should discontinue some of his more exacting duties. He seemed determined to postpone to the utmost limit his surrender to the growing restrictions imposed by age. The thought of sparing himself for his own comfort he could not tolerate, and he seemed impatient at times when it was voiced by solicitous persons near him.

Even when he had begun to show a tendency toward marked physical weakness after periods of prolonged exertion, he still possessed large reserve resources of vitality. Not only was his mental vision undimmed in its sweep of world affairs and his activity unabated in that field, but he persisted in continuing to perform his duties as a Bishop,—preaching, consulting with his clergy, making arduous episcopal journeys in the course of which he confirmed large classes, and retaining a guiding hand upon all the important affairs of the diocese.

In the course of the next two years, occasional attacks of rather severe weakness and of the minor physical ailments which he had often endured were not followed by the rapid recuperation which had so long excited the wonder of those who knew him well. Sleeplessness troubled him at times. One Saturday night early in February, 1915, he was so restless and weak that he called a member of his household to his assistance in the early morning. He took no breakfast and seemed to be in a state verging on collapse. The day was the first Sunday of the month,—one on which for years he had been accustomed to preach in the Cathedral—and he

had already prepared his sermon. The priests at the archiepiscopal residence pleaded with him not to go to the Cathedral, but to remain quietly in his study. Knowing his customary reaction to such appeals, they were not surprised when he replied that as the fact that he was to preach had been announced he would not disappoint the large congregation which he knew would be assembled in the church.

In the pulpit it was apparent that his throat was troubling him seriously, and several times while delivering his discourse he passed his hand across his forehead in a gesture indicating faintness. Nevertheless, although it was obvious that the effort was considerably greater than usual, he contrived to finish his sermon and his unimpaired memory enabled him to adhere to the language of the discourse as he had written it in advance.

That night he retired early and in a short time was able to visit friends in the country for a few days' rest, which appeared to restore him temporarily.

The difficulty of continuing to preach monthly in the Cathedral, in addition to the other duties which he insisted upon performing, increased. In December of the same year, when he was eighty-one, he thought seriously for the first time of reducing the number of his sermons in the course of the next year, although he had no idea of abandoning them. This was only a thought at first, and he did not yield to it until another year had elapsed, when he let it be known that he would discontinue the delivery of sermons at stated periods.

He passed his last birthday on earth [1] in the congenial

[1] July 23, 1920.

surroundings of the rural home of a member of the Shriver family at Union Mills. His strength seemed to be above the average on that day, and his mind surged with the thoughts which lay closest to him. Conversing upon some of these, he said:

"Plato was accustomed to thank the gods that he was born in a country so advanced in culture and civilization as Greece, and that he had Socrates for a teacher. I thank the Lord that I was born and reared in a country so favored as the United States, where every man is protected in the enjoyment of life and property with the least possible restriction of personal liberty.

"Those who are dissatisfied with the Constitution of the United States; those stirring up discord and strife; those anarchists who come from abroad to sow seeds of revolt, not only display a deplorable madness, but are guilty of base ingratitude in stabbing the mother who has given them hospitality.

"I thank Almighty God not only in being a citizen of the United States, but in being a member of the Christian family. From the dawn of reason to the present hour the Lord has been my guiding star and is my hope of eternal salvation, without which life would not be worth living.

"Not only is Christ the life of the soul, but the principles He has left us are the sustaining strength of the nation. If our statesmen and citizens are guided in political and civil conduct by the sublime teaching of the Gospel, the vigor and enduring stability of our nation are secured.

"My hope in the perpetuity of our Government rests in the practical sense of the American people, who in good time will correct the extravagance of fanatical innovators and bring us back to the safe paths outlined by

the fathers. My hope rests, too, in the guidance of an overruling Providence."

In September he presided at a meeting of the Hierarchy in Washington, at which a plea was presented from some European nationals in regard to the composition of that body, which Gibbons considered to be a new threat of encroachment. There was a discussion and one of the prelates who was present requested him to give his opinion. His stooping figure became erect and his failing voice rang with emotion as he replied:

"We are bound in unity of faith and obedience to the Vicar of Christ; but our Church knows nothing of European politicians, and we must never allow them to lay hands on her fair structure."

For several months more he continued the exertions against which his friends had so often warned him.

The beginning of the end came in November of that year. For Sunday, the seventh day of the month, he accepted an invitation to confirm a class of more than one hundred and preach in St. Patrick's Church, Havre de Grace, Maryland, despite the fact that each visit of that character involved customarily for him a day of exceptional strain. On Saturday night the Cardinal appeared to be very weak and restless. In the morning he was troubled with hoarseness and remarked to his secretary: "I fear that I shall be unable to preach."[2]

As was usual when he visited one of the churches in

[2] An intimate account of Cardinal Gibbons' last illness is given by his secretary and companion during that period, the Rev. Albert E. Smith, in Smith and Fitzpatrick's *Cardinal Gibbons, Churchman and Citizen,* from which many facts embraced in this chapter are taken.

CARDINAL GIBBONS IN THE LAST OF MANY NATIONAL ECCLESIASTICAL CEREMONIES OVER WHICH HE PRESIDED

This photograph was taken at the laying of the corner stone of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on the grounds of the Catholic University of America, September 23, 1920.

his diocese, his participation was the event of the day in the town and an overflowing congregation was present. He looked over the expectant crowd after entering the church, reconsidered his determination and said:

"I cannot disappoint these good people; I will say a few words at the close of the Mass."

He persisted in carrying out his decision, but faltered suddenly while speaking. Several persons rushed to his side and prevented him from falling. After a short period of rest in a chair, he seemed to recover and finished his discourse. He confirmed the large class and greeted the congregation at a reception in the sacristy. The same afternoon he attended a reception in his honor at the home of Commodore and Mrs. Richards, a short distance from Havre de Grace. There was no indication that his collapse in the pulpit had proceeded from more than temporary causes.

During that month he continued to attend to his work in Baltimore and presided at the annual meeting of the Board of Indian and Negro Missions, in whose efforts he had taken an especially deep interest for many years. On the evening before Thanksgiving Day, a friend who visited him in his study found him crouched in a chair, deathly pale and in a state evidently approaching collapse. Gibbons admitted that he was almost incapable of exertion, and remarked that he knew he was unprepared to attend the Pan American Mass the next day in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, at which he was expected to be present; but, he exclaimed with spirit, "I will go."

To the visitor this seemed to be merely a rash decision.

The general celebration of Thanksgiving had become commonplace, but it meant far more to Gibbons than to most men. He could not forget that more than forty years back, when many of the religious groups in America were apathetic in regard to the observance of the day, he had led the way for the Catholic Church to give her full and continuous adherence to the growing national custom, and that it was he who had instituted the Pan American Mass, at which Presidents, cabinet members and Latin-American diplomats were wont to assemble annually. Not only did he carry out his intention of joining in the service in Washington the next day, but a few hours after the Mass he blessed the new parochial school of St. Aloysius Church.

On December 3 the Cardinal's eldest sister, Mary, died in New Orleans, at the age of ninety-four years. On account of the condition of his health and the long journey that would have been involved, it was impossible for him to attend the funeral.

Two days afterward, although it was evident to all those in his entourage that he ought not to leave Baltimore even for a short trip when his health was in such a critical state, he persisted in going to Emmitsburg, Maryland, intending to pontificate at a Mass at St. Joseph's College, the mother house of the Sisters of Charity, in honor of the beatification of Louise de Marillac and the four martyrs of Arras. For some time he had suffered from fainting spells and difficulty in breathing. Although unable to pontificate, he was present on his throne throughout the service.

The need of rest being imperative, he went that after-

CARDINAL GIBBONS AS HE WAS LAST REMEMBERED

From the portrait by Marie de Ford Kellar, presented by the Cardinal to Miss Mary O. Shriver, December 16, 1920

noon to the home of Miss Mary O. Shriver at Union Mills, where he expected, as before, to recover his strength. But his weakness increased and prostrated him in bed, causing grave apprehensions. His malady was the old age disease, arteriosclerosis, the hardening and thickening of the arteries, but he remained organically sound.

Four days after his arrival at the Shriver residence he celebrated his last Mass. He lacked the strength to descend the altar steps, but, leaning against the altar, gave communion to the members of the family as they knelt.

On the evening of December 16 he presented a portrait of himself, painted by Marie de Ford Keller, of Baltimore, to Miss Shriver at a little ceremony, being carried down the stairs from his room by members of the family, who made a chair with their hands. To the recipient he said:

"I don't want you to forget me. This gift is only a slight mark of appreciation of your goodness to me."

The exertion was evidently too much for him, for so critical did his condition become in the course of the night that at 2 A. M. he was anointed for death by his secretary. He rallied, but his sinking spells became increasingly frequent.

As he lay in bed, Von Holst's *History of the United States* was read to him at intervals of the day. He had recently read Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*, and new biographies of Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

On Christmas Day, the first one in fifty-two years on which he had not pontificated, he could not leave his bed

and listened to the celebration of a low Mass in the residence, accompanied by the singing of Christmas hymns. By that time he appeared to be convinced that he had not long to live. After one of his periods of extreme weakness, he said: "I wish that our good Lord would take me to Himself."

He was greatly cheered on that day by the receipt of the following message, expressing Pope Benedict's solicitude for him:

"His Holiness begs the Lord for every grace and comfort for your Eminence, who, in your laborious life, has rendered such service to the Church. He sends to you with paternal affection his special Apostolic Benediction."

(CARDINAL) "GASPARRI."

At the midnight Mass at the Vatican, the Pope offered special prayers for Gibbons' recovery.

In the course of the following week, he was visited at the Shriver house by Archbishop Bonzano, the Apostolic Delegate; Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University; Bishop Russell, of Charleston, and a number of priests and laymen. Bishop Corrigan, his auxiliary, called and gave him reports of the diocesan work. The renewed evidence of affection for himself shown by prelates and priests appeared to make a deep impression upon him. He said:

"I have so much to be thankful for. See how different is the end of my life from that of Cardinal Manning.[3] My clergy are devoted; I have a loyal vicar general and a diocese in which there are no factions."

[3] The allusion was to the comparative isolation in which Manning passed his last days.

On New Year's Day the solicitude of President Wilson for the Cardinal was conveyed in the following message from the President's secretary to Bishop Corrigan:

"The President has learned with sympathy and distress of the Cardinal's illness, and hopes that he may very soon hear of a decided turn for the better."

Gibbons replied to the President as follows:

"From my sick bed I send you my heartfelt thanks for your solicitude in my regard, and I pray God may bring you every blessing in this New Year."

In the first few days of the year he seemed to be rallying, and expressed the wish to be removed to the archiepiscopal house in Baltimore, in which he had lived for forty-three years. He said: "I want to die in my own home. When I reach Baltimore, I can then say *nunc dimittis*." To his physicians he said that he had a feeling that he would be able to undergo the journey with safety, and they consented to it. He would not permit his removal in an ambulance, and was conveyed to Baltimore in an automobile in which he was made as comfortable as possible by means of pillows.

There seemed to be a transformation in him as he reentered the house, to which so many of his tenderest memories clung. As he was borne through the front door on a stretcher, he inquired for the lad who attended the door, saying: "Where is my little red-headed boy?" The familiar faces and scenes brightened his spirits. For several days his condition showed a steady improvement, and once he remarked to his physician, Dr. Charles O'Donovan: "I am beginning to feel my old self again."

Cardinals O'Connell, Mercier and many others sent messages to him. Secretary of State Colby and the mission from the United States Government which was then about to return home after a series of official visits to governments in South America cabled from Montevideo, expressing the anxiety of the members of the party over reports of his condition published there.

As the seeming improvement continued, he was permitted to leave his bed and sit in a wheel-chair for considerable periods of each day. Later he walked about his study for a few minutes at a time, supported by others. Permission was also given by his physician for motor-car trips, on bright days, about the city. For a time he was not permitted to receive visitors; but as this isolation had a bad effect, the rule was changed and a few visitors were allowed to see him every day, their presence appearing to improve his spirits in a marked degree.

As it was impossible to prevent his mind from taking up affairs of the diocese and other questions which had concerned him for so long a period, the restrictions in regard to his attention to these were also relaxed. In January he gave warm public support to a movement to raise a fund for rebuilding St. Mary's Industrial School, where hundreds of boys had felt the inspiration of his personal interest in them. The destruction of the school by fire had been a heavy blow to him. He issued an appeal to the Knights of Columbus to assist in the rebuilding, and enlisted their active cooperation. In this appeal he said of the school:

"I have been President of its board of trustees for more than forty years. I have seen it grow year by year,

its work extend, its influence expand. I have witnessed this work of half a century almost wiped out by fire in a single day.

"I would not appeal to you if St. Mary's were merely a local institution. Our enrollment, during the school's existence, of nearly thirteen thousand youths from eight to twenty-one years old has come from forty-five States. The nine hundred under the care of the Brothers on the day of the fire represented thirty-three States and nineteen religious denominations.

"The seven hundred and eighty-five of our youth who enlisted directly from the school in war days, and the thirty-two hundred 'old' boys who found their way into the service, speak volumes for the spirit of true patriotism fostered and the physical fitness nurtured at the school.

"I may not live to see this temple rebuilt, but, like David of old, I shall be happy to see the materials assembled. I would see perpetuated at this school for the neglected boy, semi-national as it is, a monument to the charity of the Knights, a hall graced with the 'K. of C.'; an ever-present lesson of mutual service and brotherly aid to be learned by the thousands of boys the new St. Mary's will educate and train in the way of sturdy manhood and right citizenship."

When the savings movement fostered by the United States Treasury during the war was renewed, he again gave effective help to it. In February he sent a letter to the heads of all Catholic schools in the archdiocese of Baltimore approving the movement and urging their cooperation, saying:

"The action of the United States Government in continuing the campaign to develop habits of thrift on the part of the children of this nation is to be commended.

I believe that every person in a position to be of assistance in developing interest in this subject and in educating the people in habits of economy and thrift should give support to this movement. No greater service can be rendered the children of the country than to teach them the value of money."

In forwarding this endorsement to the Savings Division of the Treasury, he wrote in his own hand on the back of it:

"I fully approve your desire to confer with the heads of the Catholic Schools in this archdiocese and commend your mission to them."

For Washington's birthday he contributed an article to the issue of the Baltimore *Catholic Review* published a few days in advance of that anniversary. This, his last utterance of a general nature, was permeated throughout by thoughts which had moved him powerfully for many years and were struggling for final expression as his life drew near the end. It was, in effect, a farewell message to the American people, in which light it was considered throughout the country, where it was printed and circulated widely by newspapers.

The subject of this valedictory was "The Constitution and George Washington." It began:

"As the years go by I am more than ever convinced that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest instrument of government that ever issued from the hand of man. Drawn up in the infancy of our Republic, and amid the fears and suspicions and opposition of many patriotic men, it has weathered the storm periods of American public life and has proved elastic enough to

withstand every strain put upon it by party spirit, Western development, world-wide immigration, wars little and great, far-reaching social and economic changes, inventions and discoveries, the growth of individual wealth and the vagaries of endless reformers.

"That within the short space of one hundred years we have grown to be a great nation, so much so that to-day the United States is rightly regarded as the first among the nations of the earth, is due to the Constitution, the palladium of our liberties and the landmark in our march of progress.

"When George Washington secured its final adoption, largely out of respect for his judgment and as a tribute of confidence in him, he made all mankind his debtor forever, for the Constitution has proved the bulwark of every right and every fair promise that the American Revolution stood for. With the Constitution came the solidarity and the union which has marked our progress up to now; without it we would have remained thirteen independent colonies, with the passions and prejudices peculiar to each. For all time to come may it remain the instrument safeguarding our national life and insuring us the liberties and freedom which it guarantees."

The Cardinal next turned to consideration of the guarantee of religious liberty in the Constitution, which had been his bulwark in his lifelong struggle against intolerance. He wrote:

"For the first time in the history of mankind religious liberty was here secured to all men as a right under Federal protection. That was indeed a big thing, a mighty thing for man to do, to write into the fundamentals of a Government enactments that would stem the tide of popular and traditional prejudices. But that the Constitution of the United States did, so that not only was

religious intolerance branded as something un-American, but future American citizens came to our shores full hearted and well disposed, and the whole world was made a debtor to the wise founders of this charter of human rights and human interests.

"Had this wise provision been left out of the Constitution, who could have foreseen the evils confronting us!

"No one knows better than myself what a line of demarcation and separation religion can cut in this country from ocean to ocean, and no one has been more eager and earnest in his effort to keep down and repress religious distinction.

"I fear no enemy from without. The enemy I fear is he who, forgetting human nature and the history of Europe, would raise the question of another's religious belief and introduce strife and discord into the life of our country. So deep and strong are religious feelings that any fostering of religious differences can have but one effect: to destroy what a hundred years of trial and test has proved to be the greatest blessing enjoyed by man here below.

"Fortunately our common law protects every American in his religious belief, as it protects him in his civil rights, so that whatever offenses may be occasionally committed here in this respect are local and temporary, and are universally regarded as un-American and are for this reason shortlived. The great wrongs which men have suffered elsewhere in this respect of religion are here unthinkable.

"Moreover, because the question of religion had ever been the burning question with the masses who looked eagerly toward America, and were in time destined to come to our shores, the Constitution held out to them the hope that here on this blessed soil opportunity would be given them of worshipping God after the dictates of their own consciences. While the founders of the American Republic could not have foreseen the coming flood

of European immigration, they exhibited, nevertheless, in respect of religion the greatest prudence, and closed with practical sagacity the only source of mutual discord and injustice that the Republic had then to fear."

He took up the question of foreign malcontents, regarding whom he had expressed particularly vigorous views when they had threatened to create serious discord in the United States soon after the World War. The article proceeded:

"I was quoted in the newspapers a few weeks ago as saying of certain foreign elements in this country that if they did not like our laws, let them return to their own country; and if they did not return they should be made to do so. Directed, as these words are, against those who would abuse the liberty of worship and other liberties here offered and would strive to overthrow the very instrument of their freedom, I offer no apology for them. In this all-important matter of religious liberty time has proved the wisdom of our founders, and we would be recreant to the trust committed to us if we failed to teach and uphold the principles upon which our Government rests."

Gibbons called attention in the article to the trials through which America had passed, and expressed the view that "a nation which could survive the strain thus put upon it must be possessed of extraordinary vitality and resource." He recalled his own experiences in the Civil War "in which I was a chaplain at Fort McHenry" and the intensity of the feelings which were aroused on both sides in that strife. The conflict in 1876 over the Presidential succession as between Tilden and Hayes he

also mentioned as one of the great episodes which had demonstrated the capacity for unity and constitutional cooperation among the American people, saying that it "filled me with more fear for the safety of the Republic than did the four years of Civil War."

It was the Constitution, he held, which had safeguarded the economic life of the country, in which unexampled development had been obtained, bringing "riches and comforts that beggar description and perhaps surpass all that mankind has hitherto drawn from earth and sea." He especially eulogized the Supreme Court as the "coordinating medium in our national life," which had been indispensable to the stability of the Constitution.

Upon Washington the words of the almost dying man dwelt with something akin to tenderness. He declared that the first President during his two terms "gave force and direction to the written principles of the Constitution, and proved even in the early days of its existence how practical a document it was in its bearings upon affairs and men." His conclusion was largely a summing up of the political creed of his life. It read:

"It is my earnest hope that all my fellow citizens will find in the liberty and freedom guaranteed by the Constitution peace and security, and in the character of George Washington virtues and qualities worthy of the highest imitation."

The finale of those homilies on general conditions of life which he had been accustomed to deliver in public addresses and through the medium of magazine and newspaper interviews appeared in the *American Maga-*

zine for March, the month in which he died. It was written by Bruce Barton, who had obtained the material from Gibbons in his study in Baltimore before he had been stricken with the most serious phase of his last illness. It was called an Easter message, but before Easter dawned the earthly voice of Gibbons was silent.

The title of this article—an extraordinary one in view of the circumstances—was "Young Man, Expect Great Things." It was a phrase which Gibbons had used in the course of his conversation with Mr. Barton. The subject of old age and youth had been introduced, and the Cardinal said:

"When a man begins to look back, then he is old. I never look back. Lot's wife looked back, you remember, and was destroyed. Looking back is destruction always —the beginning of the end. After a person passes middle life he ought to surround himself with those who have a long time yet to look forward.

"Until you are forty, seek the companionship of men who are older. After that, keep a vital contact with those who are younger. That is a pretty good rule. Until my recent sickness I used to walk every afternoon from five to six, and whom did I choose for companions? Students from the Seminary. They come from every part of the United States: one day a man from Massachusetts, another day one from Oklahoma, and so on. They tell me their hopes and their ambitions and their plans.

"And do you want to know what I say to them? I say, 'Young man, *expect* great things! Expect great things of God; great things of your fellow men and of yourself. Expect great things of America. For great opportunities are ahead; greater than any that have come before. But only those who have the courage and the vision to *expect* them will profit when they come.'

"Say to your young men for me: 'Be tolerant. Forget the prejudices that separate you from other men, and remember the great common ties that bind us all together as children of God, traveling the road of life together. And your reward will be in proportion to your service.'

"Again and again, I have seen men start out in life selfishly to get all they could get for themselves, and in the end they are baffled and puzzled. They can't understand why, with all their striving, they have been surpassed by men who apparently neglected their own selfish interests to render real service, and to be kind to other men as they went along. They do not understand that those unselfish servants of the race have the good will of thousands of people working for them; and that God, whose eye can mark even the fall of a single sparrow, never lets an act of real devotion and service go without its reward.

"That sounds like religion rather than business; but there is no business success, in the truest sense, that is not a religious success. Men are spirits, not merely bodies and appetites and needs; and the business that is built on the great spiritual laws of service and tolerance and kindliness builds on foundations that are eternal."

On March 9 he issued an appeal in behalf of the American Committee for Relief in Ireland, which was collecting a fund for aiding destitute women and children in that country.

There was usually an objective for each of the motor-car trips which Gibbons was permitted by his physician to take during those last days when the shadow of his impending dissolution hung over his grief-stricken household. Most of these objectives were Catholic institutions of benevolence in Baltimore, whose work lay close to his heart and had been unceasingly encouraged by him

during nearly half a century. He visited an orphan asylum, several hospitals, the home of the Little Sisters of the Poor, a convent and St. Charles' College. At St. Agnes' Hospital he bestowed words of comfort upon a Sister of Charity who had been confined to a wheel-chair for more than twenty years, paralyzed from the waist down.

On several occasions he was carried in his wheel-chair into the Cathedral. His thoughts turned to his possible appearance there on Easter Sunday, and on one of his visits he counted the number of steps leading to the archiepiscopal throne, saying that he might be able to mount them, and from that position give his blessing to the people. Doubting his ability to stand during such a ceremony, he spoke on another occasion of remaining seated in his chair and bestowing the blessing from the altar railing. He also looked forward to a meeting of the trustees of the Catholic University, which was soon to take place, and in which he ardently desired to participate in some way.

The rebound of his vitality after his return to his own home was short-lived. Gradually his infirmities became more painful and baffling, causing periods of great depression. In one of these periods he remarked:

"Only God knows what I suffer. Most gladly would I change my position with that of the simplest child of the city."

At times he expressed a wish for death. To one of his visitors he said:

"They are thinking of installing an elevator in the house so that I may be enabled to go downstairs. The

only elevator for which I am looking is Jacob's ladder, whereby I may go to my true home."

While consciousness remained, he continued to be solicitous for all the members of his household, from the rector of the Cathedral to the "little red-headed boy" who attended his door. On the last Sunday of his life, the Sunday before Easter, he directed that the lad should be freed from his duties during the holiday and that money should be given him in order that he might go to Wilmington to visit a relative.

The final collapse began on that day. A sudden change in the Cardinal's condition about seven o'clock in the evening caused Sister Ludovic, of the Bon Secours, his chief nurse, to give the alarm. The priests of the archiepiscopal household were summoned, and they heard him murmur:

"I want to go home. Come, it is time for us to go. When shall we start?"

These words were spoken while he was apparently in the possession of full consciousness, for he recognized each of those who were gathered about his bedside. Although a rally followed, it was then evident that death was near.

On the following day, he himself felt that he had but a short time to live. Archbishop Bonzano, the Apostolic Delegate, visited him. The Delegate's own account of the meeting was:

"I went to see the Cardinal for the last time on Monday, March 21. The Cardinal had expressed a desire to see me, and though not feeling well, I felt I ought to go to see him.

"When I was introduced into his room he smiled and tried to embrace me.

" 'I am very glad you have come,' he said to me, 'but this is your last visit. I am a very sick man and the end is near.'

" 'We are hoping and praying, Your Eminence,' I replied, 'that God will prolong your life. The Holy Father likewise is praying for you.'

" 'How good of him to remember,' said the Cardinal. 'But it is better for me to go than him, as his death would be a calamity to the Church in these troublesome times.'

"Here the conversation was stopped by a heart attack suffered by his Eminence. I then gave the Cardinal the Papal Blessing, which he received with fervor and in a most touching manner, trying to make the sign of the Cross.

"The Cardinal then blessed me. After that I caught a few indistinct words, among which was the name of the Holy Father. Fearing I might annoy him, I said good-bye. He thanked me.

"I left the room happy and sorry—happy to have seen the great Cardinal; sorry to see the end of a great life. The great Cardinal kept his attachment to the Holy Father and to his representative to the very last." [4]

On Monday and Tuesday his vitality bore him up in its expiring efforts. Speaking to the priests of his household on Tuesday evening, he said:

"You do not know how I suffer. The imagination is a powerful thing. My reason tells me that the images which rise before me have no foundation in fact. Faith must ever be the consolation of all men. Without faith we can accomplish little. Faith bears us up in our trials."

[4] Baltimore *Catholic Review.*

At the request of one of the priests he gave his blessing to the group, the last which he was to bestow on earth. Then he said: "What a loyal, devoted band of priests!"

That night he became unconscious and remained so until the end, with the exception of a few minutes on Wednesday morning when he rallied and spoke these, his last words, in a whisper:

"I have had a good day."

On Holy Thursday morning, March 24, 1921, while the near-by Cathedral was filled with worshipers, evident signs appeared that the Cardinal's death was at last about to come and the priests and sisters who had cared for him gathered lovingly around the bedside. The Rev. Louis R. Stickney, rector of the Cathedral, said the prayers for the dying. It was 11:33 o'clock when the heart gave its last feeble flutter and that wonderful pilgrimage on earth which had so profoundly affected the lives of countless thousands was finished.

CHAPTER LVII

THE NATION'S HOMAGE

Baltimore, where the brilliant personality of Gibbons had been the dominant individual influence for so many years, was plunged into profound sorrow by his death as it had been by the death of no man in all the history of the city. As soon as word was conveyed to the Mayor, Mr. Broening, he ordered the bell of the City Hall to be tolled eighty-six times, once for each year of the Cardinal's life.[1] The Mayor called a special session of the City Council, which adopted resolutions of eulogy. Proceedings in all of the courts in the city were suspended as the bell began its sad message. In the Circuit Court, Isaac Lobe Straus, former Attorney General of Maryland, a member of the Jewish faith, moved an adjournment for the day, saying:

"I have the very sad office of announcing to the Court that I have learned, as, doubtless your Honor has learned, of the decease of a great figure who, for half a century, has brought surpassing illustriousness to Maryland, and to the world, James Cardinal Gibbons. He has passed away. The world, this State, have suffered an irreparable loss. Our people and people everywhere will mourn him; but his influence will live, his memory will live forever as one of the moral, spiritual and civic treasures of this State and of all the world."

[1] Cardinal Gibbons died at the age of eighty-six years, eight months and one day.

The legislatures of Maryland and New York adjourned as a mark of respect.

Far beyond his beloved Baltimore and Maryland, the death of Gibbons was marked by a voicing of the nation's sorrow such as had been invoked by the passing of only a few of the chosen figures in her history. President Harding sent the following message to Bishop Corrigan:

"In common with all our people, I mourn the death of Cardinal Gibbons. His long and notable service to the country and to church makes us all his debtors. He was ever ready to lend his encouragement to any movement for the betterment of his fellow men. He was the very finest type of citizen and churchman.

"It was my good fortune to know him personally and I held him in the highest esteem and veneration. His death is a distinct loss to the country, but it brings to fuller appreciation a great and admirable life." [2]

Ex-President Taft said: [3]

"He did not belong to the Catholic Church alone, but he belonged to the country at large. He was Catholic not only in the religious sense, but in the secular sense.

[2] Later President Harding wrote of him: "He was one of the men whom the Nation could ill spare, for his long and earnest service for both church and country had made him one of the most useful and wise counsellors in a wide realm of public concerns. He possessed in a marked measure the qualities of the statesman as well as the churchman, and his influence was invariably exerted in favor of the best conception of America, its institutions and its destiny. Like others who have borne a somewhat extraordinary burden in the public service, I had learned to appreciate and rely upon his sincerity and breadth of vision in many matters of public concern, and his death was a very real loss. I am sure the same feeling was entertained throughout the nation, regardless of creed. His liberal views had earned for him a high place in the esteem of all Christian citizens, and his services and leadership will not be forgotten." (Letter to the Rev. Albert E. Smith, Editor of the Baltimore *Catholic Review*, March 20, 1922.)

[3] The tribute of Mr. Taft and a number of the others which follow were expressed in formal statements prepared for and published in newspapers.

. . . He represented the highest moral aspirations of the community, and all classes of good people, without regard to creed, were grateful to him for his constant effort to make society better, to lift its members out of their sordid ambitions and pursuits and to aim at higher things. As a non-Catholic and a Unitarian I am glad to have this opportunity of bearing witness to the power for good which Cardinal Gibbons exercised."

Vice-President Coolidge spoke in praise of the patriotism, piety and scholarship which had characterized the Cardinal. Secretary of State Hughes said that Gibbons, with the "utmost devotion to his country, used his exceptional gifts not only in the sphere of his religious work, but in cultivating among the people a sound patriotic sentiment. He had the respect and confidence of men of all faiths." Other members of the Cabinet joined in speaking of his services to religion and to country, as well as many members of both houses of Congress, among whom the acquaintance of Gibbons had been extensive. Senator Watson, of Indiana, said that he "represented the true spirit of America; his influence, like his life, was ideal." Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, pronounced him "a thorough American in all his feelings, and not only a great leader of his own Church, but a devoted lover of his country and a leader of opinion in all that affected her welfare." Governors and mayors in a number of states joined in expressing high estimates of the services which he had rendered.

When the news of Gibbons' death reached Pope Benedict, he said:

"The death of our dearest brother, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, is a great grief not only for his dio-

cese and his country, but also for the whole Church. Cardinal Gibbons was the living testimony of the magnificent development and the powerful organization which the Catholic Church has attained in his country, and for this reason he, more than anybody else, could show to the people the marvelous fruits that the Church can produce for the good of mankind even in our times, and notwithstanding numberless difficulties.

"Cardinal Gibbons, excellent priest, learned master, vigilant pastor, was also an exemplary citizen, and by the example and preaching of Christian virtues in private as well as in social life, he contributed efficaciously to the sound progress of his great country. His memory therefore must be cherished with profound veneration not only by every Catholic but also by every citizen of the United States of America."

Archbishop Bonzano said that America had "lost one who really, during the last thirty or forty years, has been its most distinguished citizen," and that his was "the one name which won the favor and confidence of the whole country."

Cardinal O'Connell said:

"Cardinal Gibbons was America's first and finest citizen. American born and American trained, he cherished America's traditions and for more than half a century was actively engaged in promoting the noblest ideals of American life. All his years were devoted to serving the best interests of the American people. To every worthy movement he gave his encouragement and support.

"The soundness of his judgment and the clearness of his vision made him a prudent counsellor whom statesmen sought when vital and complex problems called for solution. With unerring accuracy he felt the pulse of the American public. With unusual keenness he detected

and diagnosed social maladies even before others were conscious of their existence. These great gifts of mind, accompanied by exceptional wisdom, born of long years of varied experience, gave to his pronouncements an extraordinary value and won for his words respectful recognition.

"Instinctively, in every great crisis, his fellow-countrymen turned to him as a leader. Invariably, as if by habit, they found themselves awaiting his judgment on every important national issue. To him they were attracted no less by the magnetism of his personality than by the power of his statesmanship.

"By the gentleness of his manner, by the broadness of his sympathies, by his loyal and patriotic devotion to national interests, whether in time of peace or in the time of war, he won them, irrespective of race, class or creed, and, type of true American, he gave to America the example of one who, after the service of God, desires nothing more earnestly than the service of his country.

"More still, perhaps, will Cardinal Gibbons be remembered as an illustrious churchman. Few great ecclesiastics in modern times have played so large and so conspicuous a part in the religious life of their country. He had been closely identified with the Catholic Church in America for fully sixty years. For more than a generation he had presided over her destinies. Far back in the early sixties his ministry began.

"In his long, laborious life he embodies the noble traditions of those pioneer days, and from the splendid prelates who governed the church in the period of her struggling weakness he imbibed the majestic spirit with which he guided her so ably through years of marvellous growth and development to her present position of prominence and power.

"All the arduous duties of his sacred office he fulfilled both wisely and well. Patience, tact and far-sightedness

he possessed in uncommon measure, and those virtues, together with his untiring zeal and deep spirituality, were the secret of his success.

"They were reflected in his grand achievements for the Church throughout America and in his masterly solution of ecclesiastical problems of national importance. He helped to weld together into one harmonious body the various racial elements that constitute here the Church's membership.

"As a great Bishop he championed the rights of the oppressed, and, when other advocates were few, he defended successfully the interests of the working classes. By voice and pen he destroyed religious prejudice and removed doctrinal misunderstandings."

None had a better opportunity to appraise accurately the brotherly spirit of Gibbons than Bishop John Gardner Murray, of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Maryland, who said:

"The transfer of James Cardinal Gibbons to a higher sphere of activity removes from the stage of current human events the most prominent figure thereon in our country (and probably in the world) during the past half century. No other man in all that time has participated so fully in the universal affairs of the world as has this good, able Cardinal. Certainly no contemporary has contributed quite so much to the history of American life in all its various departments.

"As a man he was firm and steadfast in his plea for the sanctity of the home; was warm in his friendships, simple in his habits, pure in his conduct and pious in his every relationship with others. As a citizen he was a true patriot, a wise statesman, whose counsel was ever sought by all political leaders, and a noble type of constructive, progressive American manhood."

The Baltimore Federation of Churches, representing the Protestants of the city, faithfully reflected the broad charity with which Gibbons had dealt with men of all creeds by the adoption of these resolutions:

"The Baltimore Federation of Churches desires to express the appreciation of the Protestant churches within its membership for the life and works of our fellow-citizen, James Cardinal Gibbons, and to extend to our fellow-Christians of the Roman Catholic Church our sympathy on the occasion of their great bereavement in the death of this pre-eminent leader and churchman.

"His name has long been a household word in his beloved Baltimore and the fame thereof has reached to world proportions. By the dedication of his life to great Christian ideals, as well as by his devotion to the establishment of righteousness, he merits the praise and esteem of all men without distinction of creed or sect. All who aim to build the Kingdom of God on earth are mutually helpers one of another.

"His has been a great constructive career and he had joy in seeing his own church prosper under his gifted leadership. His affability and kindness of spirit, always characteristic of his bearing toward others, made him a most agreeable companion and gave him popularity beyond church lines. His broadmindedness was such as to promote good feelings between his own and the Protestant churches. Few have been the occasions of difference through his administration of church affairs, and often co-operation in great enterprises for the common good has brought true Christian amity.

"His death, therefore, is a matter of concern to all who follow the leadership of Jesus Christ. The Protestant churches of the Federation, therefore, record their sorrow in this hour of our mutual bereavement, and pray God's grace upon our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians."

Individual Protestant ministers of Baltimore recalled his brotherly help to them. The Rev. Dr. Birckhead, rector of Emmanuel Protestant Episcopal Church, told how, when he first took charge of that church, coming from another city, Gibbons had visited him unexpectedly, extending to him a friendly welcome and wishing him success in his new work. The Rev. Dr. Zimmerman, pastor of Christ English Lutheran Church, spoke from the pulpit of his personal friendship with the Cardinal, saying: "I shall always remember his letter of congratulation to me on the twenty-fifth anniversary of my ministry in the city."

Tributes to Gibbons as a churchman and a man were delivered by the pastors of a number of other Protestant churches in Baltimore on the Sunday following his death, emphasis being laid in all of these discourses upon his universal Christian charity and his breadth of soul and mind.

Rabbi William Rosenau, in a sermon at Eutaw Place Temple, one of the principal Jewish houses of worship in Baltimore, said of Gibbons:

"As he was Baltimore's first citizen, so he may be regarded as the country's finest American. . . . He belonged not only to his church, but to the larger church of mankind, recognizing God as the Common Father. Nothing human was regarded as foreign by his Eminence."

A flood of messages from America and Europe expressing grief, whose senders ranged from heads of States to humble persons into whose lives Gibbons had brought a touch of sunshine, poured into the archiepiscopal resi-

dence. Those from Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops left no doubt that his brethren who had the best opportunity of measuring his true stature considered him great. The message of the Apostolic Delegate in Washington called him a "great prelate"; that of Cardinal O'Connell, "our great American Cardinal"; Cardinal Logue, of Ireland, "a great and universally admired figure"; Cardinal Schulte, of Cologne, "the great Cardinal Gibbons"; Archbishop Redwood, of New Zealand, "Cardinal Gibbons, the great"; Archbishop Dowling, of St. Paul, "great Bishop and greatest citizen"; Archbishop Mundelein, of Chicago, Bishop Curley, of St. Augustine, who was to succeed Gibbons, and Bishop O'Gorman, of Sioux Falls, in identical phrase, "our great leader"; Bishop Conroy, of Ogdensburg, and Bishop Fogarty, of Killaloe, Ireland, "the great Cardinal"; Bishop Canevin, of Pittsburgh, a "great citizen"; Bishop O'Dea, of Seattle, a "great pillar of the Church and State"; and Bishop Hoban, of Scranton, "our great Cardinal."

Robert Underwood Johnson, the American Ambassador at Rome, cabled: "Reverence to Cardinal Gibbons, who illustrated the greatness of goodness."

An estimate, which may be regarded as fairly representative, of the place in his own country and the world which Gibbons occupied according to the contemporary judgment of his fellow-countrymen, was found in the average of the opinions expressed editorially in secular newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Scarcely a journal failed to express its own rating of his powers and their usefulness to mankind. These extracts will give an indication of the general view:

The New York *Times:*

"Cardinal Gibbons once called Mr. Roosevelt, his intimate friend for years, and Mr. Wilson, to whom in difficult days he gave a cordial and potent support gratefully acknowledged, 'the most majestic figures' of our time in America. His own for many years had the majesty of ecclesiastical, moral and intellectual authority, the dignity, influence, power of a great nature and mind. He was one of the wisest men in the world."

New York *World:*

"Cardinal Gibbons was a great spiritual leader and a great American. In him were joined the moral authority of high office in the church and an unfailing sense of the duties of citizenship. . . . He never wavered in his faith in the ideals and principles of American democracy. He never hesitated to uphold them on critical occasions, though he ventured upon the ground of current controversies where many churchmen feared to tread. It was a privilege that he accepted as an obligation, and a right that he exercised with courage."

New York *Herald:*

"Never was a man more worthy to be called his Eminence than the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore. Intellectually and spiritually his height was towering. He represented at once the most admirable qualities of his church and of American citizenship. When he spoke on matters of religion and morals the Roman Catholics of the United States turned to him for guidance. When he delivered opinions on things political, such as military training or socialism, men and women of all creeds listened. And usually in such matters he had a way of saying the right thing at the right time and saying it

tactfully but plainly. Nearly always what he said was what the mind of America was thinking."

Philadelphia *Public Ledger:*

"One thinks of Cardinal Gibbons as a great American —of personal force, of intellectual acumen, of salient attainment, of loftiest purpose and incorruptible integrity of character. He is a national and not simply an ecclesiastical figure, and from coast to coast, and even in the isles of the sea, whenever Americans assemble, their sorrow is part of an international expression of grief and of loss."

Cleveland *Plain Dealer:*

"James Cardinal Gibbons was a great churchman and a great American. Devoted to his work as the foremost leader of American Catholicism, he felt it to be an important part of this work to interpret and even to participate in the non-spiritual activities of the American nation. On any point of national moment the advice of Cardinal Gibbons was sought by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. . . . Always a democrat but never a radical, the words of Cardinal Gibbons carried weight where the advice of some less distinctly American counsellor might have been of lesser significance."

CHAPTER LVIII

FUNERAL OF CARDINAL GIBBONS

The life which had been the highest expression of American Catholicism was marked at its close by the greatest tribute which the Church could offer. The funeral of Cardinal Gibbons was such as no other American churchman ever had, in the massed grouping of so many of the Hierarchy and clergy, the presence of representatives of the governments of the nation, the State and the city, of foreign envoys, of clergymen and laymen of all religious faiths. He had broken down many barriers that divided men, and they knew no barriers in their reverent sharing in the rites with which his body was committed to the tomb.

A week, in which the grief of Maryland and Baltimore was displayed as never before, intervened between his death and the last ceremony. Here was a prophet honored greatly abroad but most of all at home. Here had been a life of which the close view emphasized the larger virtues and brought to light a multitude of lesser ones undisclosed in the distant perspective.

There was a Mass in his beloved Cathedral for children, whose friend he had ever been; another Mass for the sisterhoods and brotherhoods in the diocese, and a Pontifical Mass for the laity. Signs of public mourning were general. Governor Ritchie issued a proclamation

requesting all persons within the State to "refrain from work and activities of every kind for one minute, and to offer a prayer of gratitude and thankfulness for the Cardinal" at ten o'clock Thursday morning, March 31, the hour fixed for the beginning of the funeral. The mayor of Baltimore issued a similar proclamation, and the president of the leading trade organization of the city added his appeal to theirs.

For a few days after the Cardinal's death, the body lay in the little bedroom in the archiepiscopal residence which he had occupied. It had been clothed in a purple cassock with the alb over it, and the purple chasuble over the alb. A white miter was on the head. Over the bed was a picture of the Good Shepherd which had been his inspiration. It was a figure of Christ kneeling, the face bearing an expression of infinite tenderness, patience and pity. Upon this Gibbons had looked oftener than upon any other picture, and it had been the first sight which met his eyes every morning. Ranged about the walls were a few pictures of Saints and Popes and those of two priests who had been particularly dear to him. Both of them had been pastors in Baltimore. One of them was Monsignor McManus, and the other the Rev. John T. Gaitley, who had been his classmate at St. Charles' College.

On Monday morning the body was removed to the Cathedral, where it lay in state, the red hat at the feet, the civic decorations which Gibbons had received from sovereigns and others near-by. A throng composed of persons in all gradations of life, representative of those to whom Gibbons' ministrations had been given, passed

the catafalque to take a last look at the dead. More than two hundred thousand were admitted during the few days preceding the funeral.

Within the Cathedral for the last ceremony were Cardinals O'Connell, of Boston, and Begin, of Quebec; ten Archbishops, forty-three Bishops, the faculty of the Catholic University of America, mitered Abbots, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Benedictines, Franciscans, members of other religious orders and a host of the secular clergy. There were Chief Justice White, of the United States Supreme Court, Postmaster General Hays, the representative of President Harding, the Governors of Maryland and Ohio, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, envoys from a dozen foreign nations who had come from Washington, and Protestant and Jewish clergymen. In the words of Bishop Shahan, "no funeral in the new world has called forth so vast a response in the common heart, mostly a tribute to the man as distinct from his office." [1]

The Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Bonzano, the Apostolic Delegate, and the funeral sermon was delivered by Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis.

Funeral eulogies are often unconvincing, but in the case of Gibbons there could be no eulogy beyond that which had already been bestowed. Estimates of him remained to be given, but praise had been exhausted in the flood of gratitude from millions high and low. His contemporaries had not waited for posterity to discern his worth.

[1] *James Cardinal Gibbons: In Memoriam;* by the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan.

Archbishop Glennon spoke the mind of Gibbons' colleagues in the American Hierarchy. He linked Leo XIII, Manning and Gibbons as the three great men of the Church in the preceding half-century, who had turned the world from the dark valley of materialistic philosophy in which it had been wandering and brought it back to the serene and secure heights of spiritual religion. He spoke of Gibbons as a "great leader and soldier," a "great legislator" and a "great patriot," tracing the source of his extraordinary power to the "inner life of the man, which was a blending of strength and sweetness, of simplicity and prudence." The Archbishop said:

"He was our leader, guide and father. We cannot forget his unfailing kindness—his prudent counsel. We fear and feel we shall not look on his like again. The Holy Father himself must have sensed our loss, as well as his own, since from the throne of the Fisherman he voices at once the sorrow of his own troubled heart and the sympathy of the Catholic world.

"Sorrow so universal deserves recording; and yet I feel that more pressing even than tears is our duty today to express our gratitude to the Almighty—to thank God for Cardinal Gibbons.

"It appears to be true that for every great crisis in history Providence, as Balmes says, holds in reserve a remarkable man. Now fifty years ago there was such a crisis. The crosses were taken from courthouse and schoolroom and the living Church was everywhere combated, made to feel that its days were numbered. For now the world was told by the scientists that it was complete without God; that there was no God, unless, indeed, such divinity as man could of himself attain. It was an age of invention, of discovery, of material

progress. So science in its triumph thought it could despise and reject the Deity. It would take His place in ruling the world.

"Fifty years ago this philosophy appealed to the multitude as a new revelation. It was enthroned in the universities. It was encouraged by the statesmen; for well these latter knew that the more the people sink in materialism, scientific or otherwise, the more autocratic may the civil power become. When the deadly miasma was spreading o'er the land, attracting the multitude by the phosphorescence of its own decay, there appeared on the horizon three men, who, though separated by the waters of the sea, were one in purpose, one in faith, one in consecration. And the first of these, and the greatest, was that great Pontiff, who then guided and guarded the destinies of Christendom.

"The immortal Leo XIII flung down the challenge to the schools and the scoffers—to the university and the stateman. He takes his stand for the blessed Christ, whose Vicar he is. He proclaims the great truth that human science counts for little unless it seeks its complement in the science that is of God divine. He preaches the true philosophy of which St. Thomas was the great proponent, that philosophy which proclaims that man has an immortal spiritual soul, that it is thereby he attains his true dignity. He organizes the Christian universities; and gives to them the mandate and the inspiration. He brings back the light of faith to the soul of the child; and in the face of opposition from the civil governments proclaims the inalienable right of imparting Catholic truth to the children of the faith.

"Lastly, in his great encyclical on labor, he asserts and defines to a world still, in spite of all its science, half feudalistic, the dignity, rights and duties of labor. His teaching is that the workman has the right to combine,

but not to conspire—that he has a duty to work honestly (as we all have) and the right to such remuneration as will make it possible for him to live a man among his fellows, with a home where his children may grow as befits the children of God.

"So taught Leo fifty years ago. He did not stand alone. First, Manning, of England, with the intensity and consecration that soon marked him as a leader; while here in America down in the Southland the Blessed Master found the third great champion of his cause.

"Leo XIII, Manning, of Westminster, and Gibbons, of Baltimore! These three, and these the causes they served: First, to win the world back from the false philosophy of the scientists to the true philosophy of the Cross, hence the encyclicals of Leo; second, to establish universities and schools where that true philosophy would find a home and an exposition, hence the Catholic University, of which Cardinal Gibbons was founder, patron and chancellor; third, to establish the rights of labor on the sound principles of the moral law, taking into account the value of labor, but more than that the character and the dignity of the worker—hence the encyclical on labor—hence the action of Cardinal Gibbons in behalf of the Knights of Labor."

Taking up some other accomplishments by Gibbons, Archbishop Glennon continued:

"In his vicariate of the South, while attending to a scattered flock, he had time to bring the fullness of the ancient faith into the emptiness of modern thought and write 'The Faith of Our Fathers'—our best 'apologia' in the English language—the best when written fifty years ago—the best now, and we have reason to believe even latest history will not record a better.

"Impartial history will tell us that the most important

and, in its results, the most far-reaching of all the national councils held since the Council of Trent, was the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore—how by it were formed and fashioned the laws and the government of the American Church—how it became the exemplar for all the national councils since its promulgation; and history will not deny that its quality, efficiency, the opportuneness of its mandates are largely due to its eminent chairman and president, our venerated Cardinal, who not only presided over its every session, but has since, with unfailing diligence, watched over its acceptance and observance.

"Turn we to his other great work, the Catholic University. While under Papal charter, the Cardinal was in effect its head, its heart and its inspiration. He gave to it his best thought, his warmest affection and his unfailing support. He looked to it to carry out his life work—to bring the mind of the Church to all the questions of the age, and stand as a light perennial to the nation and the world.

"Paralleling the dying request of a national hero of other days, the Cardinal, were he to speak, would, I believe, leave as a heritage his body to Baltimore, his heart to the university and his soul to God. Most certainly he now bequeaths its care to us as a sacred trust; and I am convinced that I rightly interpret the will and wish of both clergy and laity of the American Church in declaring now beside his mortal remains that we will not break faith with him—that for his sake and for the sake of our ancient faith and for the sake of eternal truth this great school shall endure and prosper, supported by a united and a generous people.

"Here, then, are the salient traits of the illustrious dead: He was a great leader and soldier, whose sword was ever ready to defend the Christ and His kingdom. He was the great legislator, wise in counsel, prudent in

action, just in his decisions. He would have the world know Christ was the truth and the life.

"Lastly he was the great patriot. He cared not for the ways or weaknesses of party; but they whom the people chose as President and as legislators were his President and his government. And how bravely he spoke his admiration for, his love of, his country and its institutions! Always eloquent, he was never more so than when, with the vision before his mind of the great dome at Washington and what it meant, he spoke of this land as the home of justice and liberty."

The eloquent preacher emphasized in polished periods Gibbons' confidence in the recovery of the world, especially the recovery of America, after the World War, as an index of the unwavering faith which inspired him in life and cheered him in death.

With the giving of the absolutions, the distinguished throng in the Cathedral dispersed, and there remained but the committal of the body to the crypt beneath the sanctuary. It was borne there by members of Gibbons' household, assisted by several others, as the bells of the Catholic churches in the city tolled. Only a few persons witnessed this ceremony, which ended with the chanting of the *De Profundis*, and the last absolution by Bishop Corrigan.

Thus passed from earth a beneficent figure who was at the same time one of the most masterful personalities contributed by America to mankind. Cardinal Gibbons, apart from his leadership as an ecclesiastic, stood among a small group who in the comparatively brief national life of the United States have been preeminent as bulwarks of the system of political and social welfare for

which the country stands, its solidity, permanency and orderly development. When the labor movement, bursting in the new world the bonds of centuries, rose suddenly as a strange and incalculable force, he was one of the chief instruments in turning that force into the normal current of democratic evolution; when immigration for whose numbers the world knew no precedent threatened to shake the foundations on which the fathers of the nation had built, he did more than any other man to destroy its power for harm and enhance its power for good; when the most colossal of wars came, revealing the wondrous spectacle of national unity rising out of former elements of discord, his vision and his effort found vindication and then, by marshaling 17,000,000 Catholics as a compact force in support of the government, he proved every word he had uttered about the linking of religion and patriotism; when angry and heedless forces of radicalism at the close of the war again made necessary a call for that vigilance which has always been the price of liberty, he had already stifled Socialism and he stood as a strong wall against the bombs and ravings of Communism.

It seemed that Providence had spared the preeminent patriot-prelate of America beyond the span of average life that in his age he might show forth the full fruits of his greatest labors for country and crown them with a new harvest. He passed in peace, a peace that followed many battles, and the trophies of his victories were around him.

And yet this man, a leader among leaders, so often a companion of the great, had the simple heart of a simple

priest and rejoiced in the rescue of a waif as second to no triumph he could win. Early he had chosen the life of an obscure rector of an obscure parish and was content to be no more, even resisted the call to be more; elevated by force of gifts and merits to be the youngest Bishop in the world, he put aside the offer of the first archiepiscopal seat in America on the ground that he was unfitted for it, and only accepted it after a long period of reluctance; forced thus against his own will to be a commander-in-chief, he rose to heights which gave his post a new meaning in the eyes of those without as well as those within the Catholic fold.

Still his main aspiration was unchanged, but broadened. He was the rector and father of millions where he had been the shepherd of a handful. To him the voicing of one soul's deliverance was sweeter than the public acclaim that was showered upon him so often. He clung to his religious devotions as the first and chief duty of every day, to simple acts of kindness to all without partition of creed or race as the choicest products of his mission on earth. With him religion was a real thing—the greatest reality of life—and his eyes were fixed on it as his support and his guide in manifold labors that left an indelible stamp upon the fabric of contemporaneous history.

That he was a Christian was a glory of all Christians; that he was a Catholic was a glory of all Catholics.

To those who saw from afar, his wider acts of accomplishment were the measure of him; but what impression remained with the hundreds, even thousands, who felt directly in the course of his long life the personal force

of the man, who heard his voice, touched his hand, came under the power of his striking and distinctive personality? Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, Pope and President, statesman and street urchin, the high and the low of many degrees, would frame their answers differently; but all who knew him shared in one composite thought, overshadowing and embracing other thoughts of him, the blend of his legacy to his fellowmen—Here was a man of God.

THE END

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